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SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

LIV

LUCIANO PETECH

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY OF NEPAL

(c. 750-1482)

Second, thoroughly revised edition

ROMA
ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE
1984

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PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

FONDATA DA GIUSEPPE TUCCI

DIRETTA DA

GHERARDO GNOLI

Vol. LIV

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1984

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LUCIANO PETECH

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY OF NEPAL

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The present volume is the result of a thorough revision and rewriting of the original edition of 1958, carried out during a span of several years, including a period of research in Nepal during the autumn of 1982.

Consequently, some sections are practically new and others have been considerably expanded. On other side, I found it advisable not to include the following portions of the first edition:

Section D of Chapter V (*Caste system*), which was not at the same scholarly level as the rest [1] and which it would have been difficult to replace with chronologically acceptable constructions;

Appendix II (*A note on the Khasiyā king Aśokacalla*), which is now completely superseded by a recent special study [2];

Appendix III (*Mānagṛha and Kailāsakūṭa*), because the theory there proposed cannot be defended any longer;

Appendix VI (*A portion of the Bendall* vaṃśāvalī), because in the meantime the whole of that text has been published elsewhere (although a proper critical edition is still lacking).

As in 1958 I have to thank once more all the friends and colleagues in Europe and in Nepal who gave me help in many ways. Among them Mrs. Paola Vergara Caffarelli and the staff of the Institut de Civilisation Indienne in Paris; and my Nepalese friends Dhanbajra Bajracharya, Purnaharsha Bajracharya and Father L. F. Stiller S. J., as well as Mr. Balram Das Dangol, the Pratham Anusadhan Adhikari of the National Archives, Kathmandu.

I acknowledge gratefully the financial support granted by the Ministry of Education and by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (National Council for Research).

Rome, 31st December, 1983

LUCIANO PETECH

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1 See the reviews by T. W. Clark in *JRAS* 1959, 157, and by D. Snellgrove in *BSOAS* 22 (1959), 378.

2 L. Petech "Ya-tse, Gu-ge, Pu-raṅ; a new study", in *CAJ*, 24 (1980), 85–111.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Books, papers and periodicals
(For bibliographical details see the Bibliography)

ABORI	= *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
AS	= Ramji Tevari *et al.*, *Abhilekh Saṅgraha*, 10 fascicles, Kathmandu 2018–2020 VS.
BEFEO	= *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.*
Bendall, *History*	= C. Bendall, *A history of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms*, in *JASB*, 72 (1903), 1–32.
Bendall, Journey	= C. Bendall, *A journey to Nepal and Northern India*, Cambridge 1886.
BSOAS	= *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
CAJ	= *Central Asiatic Journal.*
CBMC	= C. Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library*, Cambridge 1883.
CNS	= *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* (*Journal of the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University*).
CPMDN	= H. P. Shastri, *Catalogue of palm-leaf and selected paper manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, 2 vols., Calcutta 1905 and 1916.
CSBM	= C. Bendall, *Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1902.
CSMASB	= H. P. Shastri (et alii), *A descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Government collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. I ff., Calcutta 1917 ff. (the last volumes out are XIV of 1955 and XI of 1957).
CSMTUL	= S. Matsunami, *A catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*, Tokyo 1965.
CSPMIO	= A. B. Keith, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, vol. II, Oxford 1935.
Gnoli	= R. Gnoli, *Nepalese inscriptions in Gupta characters* (Serie Orientale Roma, X, 2), Rome 1956.
IHQ	= *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
J.As.	= *Journal Asiatique.*
JASB	= *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBORS and *JBRS*	= *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, afterwards *Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*
JIH	= *Journal of Indian History.*
JRAS	= *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

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Regmi = D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, 4 vols., Calcutta 1965–1966.

RS XXI, RS XXIII and RS XXIV = R. Sankrityayana, "Sanskrit palm-leaf mss. in Tibet", in *JBORS*, 21 (1935), 21–43, and 23 (1937), 4–57; "Search for Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet", in *JBORS*, 24 (1938), 137–163.

RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali.*

Sakya–Vaidya = H. Sakya and T. R. Vaidya, *Medieval Nepal* (*colophons and inscriptions*), Kathmandu 1970.

V^1, V^2, V^3 (as a whole VBd) = The three parts of the *Gopāla–vaṃśāvalī*, in National Archives, I.1583.7, discovered by C. Bendall.

VD = *Vaṃśāvali* in possession of Dh. Bajracharya, published in *CNS*, 5/1 (1977), 116–122.

VK = *Vaṃśāvalī* in the Kaisher Library.

VL = *Vaṃśāvalī* summarized by S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II.

VT = *Vaṃśāvalī* in Sanskrit verse, photographs in possession of Professor G. Tucci.

VW = *Vaṃśāvalī* translated in D. Wright, *History of Nepal*, Cambridge 1877.

Eras

AD = Christian Era.

NS = Newari Samvat.

VS = Vikrama Samvat.

Royal titles

M. = *mahārājādhirāja.*

P. = *parameśvara.*

Pb. = *paramabhaṭṭāraka.*

R. = *rājādhirāja.*

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INTRODUCTION

The history of Nepal can be roughly divided into four main periods:

1) Licchavi and cognate dynasties (c. 386–750 AD)
2) Transitional period and Karṇāṭa–Malla dynasty (c. 750–1482)
3) The three Malla kingdoms (1482–1768)
4) The Gorkha dynasty (after 1768)

During the first three periods Nepalese history developped itself in a limited area, the Nepāla–maṇḍala of the documents, consisting of the Valley of Nepal proper, i.e. the upper basin of the Bagmati river, with some extensions towards the east (Banepa and Palamchok, sometimes as far as Dolkha), the south (Pharping) and the west (Nuvakoth). Being surrounded on all sides by mountain barriers, broken only to the south by the narrow and impassable gorges of the Bagmati, the country was well protected and easily defendable. In the middle ages the Valley was almost exclusively inhabited by the industrious and intelligent Newar people, particularly able as cultivators and artisans. The Valley was comparatively thickly inhabited, well cultivated, and thus fit to afford an economically sufficient basis upon which to build a state.

These simple geographical facts determine some of the essential features of Nepalese history. Its theatre was strictly limited, and from the point of view of a purely political history Nepal has never conditioned nor even influenced the events unrolling themselves in the vast territories north of the Himalayan range and in the Indian plains. The Nepalese state was politically passive. It defended itself with more or less success against foreign invaders, but never attacked, nor even counter–attacked (with a single exception in the 15th century). Foreign pressure was only intermittent; raids and invasions from the outside were comparatively few during the six centuries covered by our study. They came either from the west (Khasa) or from the south (Tirhut). With the sole exception of the disastrous Muslim

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invasion of 1349, they never came from the great neighbouring powers of the Indian plains. Not one of these invasions resulted in foreign domination; the independence of the country was never in serious danger.

Trade was always an important consideration, and the part it played in Nepalese economy was gradually increasing. Whether commercial and economic conflicts resulted at any time in armed clashes, is beyond our knowledge, as documentation on this subject is totally lacking for this period. Looking at things from a higher, continental angle, it cannot be gainsaid that Nepalese history down to 1768 never overstepped the purely local interest.

As a complete contrast, Nepal played a most inportant role in the cultural field. The historical task of the Valley (if such a concept can still be allowed) consisted in the preservation of the treasures of thought and of literature exposed to unavoidable destruction in the plains of Northern India. This task was carried on with admirable constance and success; and thus it should rank at a place not lower than the creative activity itself, in which Nepal was not particularly outstanding. This is true for the conservation of the oral tradition (chiefly that of Buddhism which died out in India), but even more so for the preservation of the written monuments, first on palm–leaf, then on paper. The success was due not only to favourable climatic conditions and to a high degree of security from foreign destructive invasions. A factor even more decisive was the spirit of reverent piety with which each Newar family preserved their precious heirlooms of manuscripts throughout the centuries. Without them, a large body of religious, philosophical and other literature would have been lost forever.

In other fields Nepal showed a true original genius; Nepalese architecture and sculpture are a proof in instance. Their influence penetrated extensively in the world of the mountains, chiefly toward Tibet, and to a lesser extent to other Himalayan valleys.

The history of the second main period of Nepalese history forms the subject of the present volume. Before the publication of its first edition in 1958, a fair volume of spade–work had already been carried out by several scholars. Foremost among them is the account of Nepalese history in that magnificent pioneer work, S. Lévi's *Le Népal*, II, Paris 1905, 172–239. Lévi gave a very sober and reliable

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outline of this period, as far as he was able to reconstruct it from the sources available in his time. Although its chronological and historical frame is by now obsolete, still *Le Népal* can be utilized with great profit.

Together with Lévi, honourable mention should be made of a paper by C. Bendall, "A history of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms (1000–1600)", in *JASB*, 62 (1903), 1–32, reprinted as "Historical Introduction" in the first volume of H. P. Shastri's *Catalogue ... of the Durbar Library*. It was Bendall who revealed for the first time the existence of the all-important *Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī* (or Bendall *vaṃśāvalī*; VBd), then in the Darbar Library, and now in the National Archives at Kathmandu.

Looking back to the last quarter of a century, I am under the impression that the first edition of the present book has fulfilled its task and has played a useful role, if nothing else as a provoking factor; many later workers in this field have discussed its findings, accepting or rejecting or criticizing them.

The most ambitious work after 1958 was D. R. Regmi's *Medieval Nepal*, 4 vols., Patna and Calcutta 1965–1966. It is a rather prolix and repetitive piece of historiography, which, however, has to its credit the collection of a considerable body of fresh materials, such as inscriptions and colophons. It is also fitting to acknowledge the more unassuming but extremely useful work of the editors of the periodical *Pūrṇimā* and of the epigraphical collection *Abhilekh-saṅgraha*, and also the active research work going on in the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies of the Tribhuvan University.

As I had already cautioned the reader in 1958, it is a rather old-fashioned history-writing which is offered in the following pages: dynasties, kings, wars, chronological problems etc. In my opinion however, side by side with the intensive research work that is being carried on by Nepalese and Western scholars on the religious, social and economic aspects of medieval and modern Nepalese culture, there is still scope for a work intended to place on a secure footing the chronological and political framework of Nepalese medieval history.

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CHAPTER I

SOURCES

The sources for this period of Nepalese history can be classified as follows: A) *vaṃśāvalīs*; B) colophons; C) inscriptions; D) foreign documents.

A) A *vaṃśāvalī* is primarily what its title indicates: a string of generations, i.e. a genealogical list, which in its simplest form gives merely the names of the rulers with the duration of their reigns in years and months. This elementary scheme is then variated by the addition of dates and of short entries relating the chief events of the reign. These additions may become more and more elaborate, till the whole assumes the shape of a chronicle, or even of annals; this development occurs quite early. The events narrated are chiefly and above all of a religious nature: construction of temples, dedication of images, pecuniary gifts to shrines etc. This is because the writers of the chronicles were either Brahmans or Vajrācāryas, according as the tendency of the work was Hindu or Buddhist. In some cases (e.g. in V^3) the lists of donations are so careful and detailed, as to lead us to suppose that their source were the archives of some holy place (Paśupati Nāth in the case of V^3).

The extant *vaṃśāvalīs* can be divided into two groups: an earlier one, comprising works written about 1400; and the later *vaṃśāvalīs*, mainly compiled during the first decades of the Gorkha rule, i.e. around 1800.

In the first group we notice before all the ancient *vaṃśāvalī*, which Bendall found in the Darbar Library (now National Archives; I.1583.7), and of which he published some extracts in his article *A history of Nepal* quoted above. *VBd* is a palm-leaf ms. of small size, fairly well preserved with the exception of several leafs in which the ink has nearly faded away. It is incomplete, beginning with f. 17 and remaining interrupted with f. 63, after which we find an additional leaf marked f. 50 and being a sort of rider to f. 50 in the text,

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and three blank leafs. As already recognized by Bendall, the ms. consists of three originally separate works. The first (Bendall's V^1; down to f. 30 *a*) is a royal list of a simple pattern; only after f. 26 *a* (reign of Anantamalla) it begins to include additional dates and richer materials. Its language is a very ungrammatical and debased Sanskrit, revealing a poor knowledge of the sacred language. At the very end (f. 29 *a*), i.e. with the first years of Jayasthitimalla, the narrative assumes an annalistic character and at the same time the language changes into old Newari; this portion is clearly a later addition, and the cleavage is quite perceptible. The last entry is for the year 507 NS. The second chronicle (V^2; from f. 30 *b* to f. 36 *a*) is a chronological–genealogical list of the birth–dates of princes of the royal family and other important persons. After a preliminary short account of the foundation of Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ by king Viṣṇugupta, its first entry bears the date of 177 NS; the last one is for 396. The language is old Newari mixed with Sanskrit. The third text (V^3; from f. 36 *b* to the end) is a real chronicle, chiefly concerned with religious donations. Its form is annalistic, but without regularity in the sequence of years. The first entry is for 379 and the last (in order of time but not in sequence) is for 509 (f. 58 *a*). The language is old Newari. V^3, as well as the concluding portion of V^1, was apparently written late in the reign of Jayasthitimalla, i.e. about 510 NS (A.D. 1390). Although the last leafs are missing, the tale cannot have been carried much farther than the extant portion, because at the end the pace is very slow and entries follow each other at the distance of months or even of days; besides, Jayasthitimalla is eulogized is such a way, that he clearly was the reigning king at the time of the compilation of the work. A consequence of this is that V^3 pays closest attention to the Tripura (Bhatgaon) line of the Nepalese rulers, which ended with Jayasthitimalla's wife Rājalladevī, and often overlooks the main line reigning in Patan, at least theoretically. This fact tends to present a distorted picture, were it not for the colophons, which supply the necessary redressement of balance by consistently ignoring the Bhatgaon princes and recognizing only the legitimate kings, however powerless.

V^2 and V^3 offer great difficulties. First of all, in some leafs the ink has faded to a large extent. An even greater obstacle is represented by the archaic language in which they are written; it often

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baffles even the best Newari scholars. The ms. being of the highest historical and philological interest, a thorough study, based on a scientifically correct edition and translation, remains at present the foremost desideratum in the field of medieval Nepalese history and linguistics. At the end of 1983 only imperfect editions were available. They are: 1) A small portion (ff. 22*b*–29*a*) printed as Appendix VI (pp. 219–224) of the first edition of the present work; 2) Complete edition in *Himavatsaṃskṛti*, I/1 (2016 VS), 9–25, followed by a Nepali summary and list of names; reprinted in Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihās-prakāś mā sandhipatra-saṅgraha*, Kathmandu 2022 VS, 254–270; 3) Complete edition in D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, III, Calcutta 1966, 112–157. My understanding of the Chronicle was much facilitated when during my stay in Nepal in 1982 Mr. Dhanbajra Bajracharya generously allowed me to utilize his unpublished Nepali translation of the *Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī*; by its help most if not all the difficulties were overcome.

According to a well-known law in historiography, the highly authoritative *VBd* soon gave origin to abridgments or compendia, of which at least two are extant. The more important of the two was at the basis of the information collected in 1793 by the British envoy Kirkpatrick and embodied in his *Account of the kingdom of Nepaul*. It has been recognized at all hands and for a long time that Kirkpatrick's royal lists diverge strongly from the modern *vaṃśāvalīs* and bear all the marks of antiquity and trustworthiness. They widely agree with *VBd*; and in the few cases where they diverge, internal evidence shows that the tradition of VK is in some cases more dependable. In 1956 I was lucky enough to discover an incomplete ms. of this abridgment in the (then private) library of Field-Marshal Kaisher Shamsher, which after his demise is now owned by the State. The ms. (Kaisher Library, n. 171) is a mere fragment, written in Sanskrit on Nepalese paper in concertina form. The outer leaf bears some dates scribbled by different later hands: 859 Caitra *śukla* 4, 859 Srāvaṇa *śukla* 3, 855 Āṣāḍha *śukla* 2; which means that the ms. was in existence in the years 1735–1739 A.D. The beginning is missing, and the first name of the royal list is × × deva, corresponding to the Condur Deo of Kirkpatrick. The identity of names and regnal years with Kirkpatrick's list is absolute. Toward the end the ms. gives some dates and other additional material, which is mostly abrid-

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ged from V[1] but is often badly corrupted; the text, however, can be restored with the help of V[1]. The original abridgment stops with the Muslim invasion of 470 NS, the last words being *iti vaṃśāvalī.* After this the 18th century copyist started to add a summary of the chronological material of the *vaṃśāvalīs* of the modern group, beginning with the genealogies of the kings of Mithilā and giving the traditional chronogram for the arrival of Harisiṃha in Nepal; the text remains interrupted in the middle of the chronogram. VK is reprinted here as Appendix III.

Another abridgment of VBd belongs to the collection of Dhanbajra Bajracharya and has been published by him in *CNS*, V/1 (1977), 116–122. The ms. (here quoted as VD) is complete. The abridgment of VBd starts with the earliest kings and leaves off where VK does. Then, as in VK, the compiler added a compact chronicle of the modern group, which carries the chronological frame down to 1775. Normally the regnal years in VD are exactly the same as in VK with some rare exceptions. However, the historical content is more reduced and often badly truncated. Thus the practical usefulness of VD is inferior to that of VK, as in no case it supplies new material, with the exception of course of the period for which the pages of VK are lost.

The *vaṃśāvalīs* of the later group are written in Gorkhali, the language of the conquerors. They may be divided into two sub-sections. One is of Buddhist persuasion, and its main representative is the one written about 1800 at Patan by a monk of the Mahābodhi-vihāra, freely translated into English by the Pandits of the British Residency and edited by D. Wright, *History of Nepal translated from the Parbatiya*, Cambridge 1877. I have perused the photostatic copy of a ms. of this work and have noted the substantial correctness of the translation, at least in the most important points. The other sub-section is of Hindu persuasion, and its foremost representative is the *vaṃśāvalī* written in 1834 by Siddhi Nārāyaṇ of Deo Patan The ms. is described at length in Lévi, I, 193–194, and the same author gives numerous extraxts of the text. The *vaṃśāvalī* used by Bhagvanlal Indraji in preparing his paper *Some considerations on the History of Nepal*, in *Ind. Ant.*, 13 (1884), pp. 411–428, must have been a cognate work. Other texts apparently belonging to this sub-section are the mss. Hodgson 29*bis*/4, 29*bis*/5 *b* and 29*bis*/4 *b* in the India

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Office Library [1], and Add. 1652 *a* in the Cambridge University Library.

The list and chronology of both sub-sections are substantially one and the same. But they are far less correct and trustworthy than those of the older *vaṃśāvalīs*; this was noticed already by Lévi, who gives several instances of this basic fact.

The worst defects are two. These chronicles always give the succession as from father to son; and they quit the tale of the Malla dynasty with Jayadeva in 1258 to resume it only with Jayasthitimalla about 1380. They fill the gap with the Karṇāṭa kings of Tirhut, viz. with Nānyadeva, his descendants, Harisiṃha and the latter's supposed descendants, all of whom never reigned in Nepal. And since for this period they are completely divorced from reality, and since they are unreliable also for the early generations, we can say in all conscience that the tradition preserved in the later chronicles is corrupted and distorted (at least for the period under consideration), and therefore can be safely disregarded. There are of course exceptions which will be noticed in their proper places.

B) The most copious and reliable material for the chronology of this period is represented by the colophons of Nepalese mss. The scribes of Nepal used to add at the end of their work a brief statement mentioning the date of copying, and often also the name of the reigning king, the place of writing, the name of the scribe, the name of the sponsor of the work and other indications. Of course only those colophons which mention date and name of the king are useful for our purpose, and only these I have collected and utilized for my work. To those already known, my researches in the libraries of Kathmandu in 1956 had added a substantial amount of new unpublished colophons, a sufficient description of which will be given under the heading of each reigning king; but many more have been been published during these last years. The colophons form the mainstay of our chronology of this period, supplementing and checking the dates of the chronicles, But very seldom they supply us with information on political and other events; for this we must still rely on the *vaṃśāvalīs*.

[1] *CSPMIO*, nn. 8185–8188, pp. 1549–1550. Of these, the Hindu *vaṃśāvali* of Padmagiri was published by B. J. Hasrat, *History of Nepal*, Hoshiarpur 1970, 1–98.

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C) The Nepalese inscriptions fall naturally into two groups. One is composed of the early inscriptions of the Licchavi and "Thākurī" dynasties (5th–8th centuries); they are all of them on stone (*śilāpattra*) and are written in Sanskrit with a rather archaic alphabet which is essentially that of the Gupta dynasty [1]. The second group starts with Guṇakāmadeva at the end of the 10th century. Its bulk increases sharply with Jayasthitimalla at the end of the 14th century and with his successors. Most of the inscriptions are on stone, but from the 12th century on the documents on copperplates (*tāmrapattra*) are also coming forth, although they are less numerous than the stone inscriptions. For the 17th and 18th centuries the abundance of epigraphic material is simply bewildering; the great cities of the Valley literally teem with inscriptions. The script is usually old Newari. The language is at first Sanskrit only, but the technical portions (land measurements etc.) tend more and more to be written in Newari, and after the 16th century the body itself of the inscriptions is often couched in Newari.

D) Foreign documents are scanty for this period. They practically consist only of some entries in the "Veritable Records" of the Ming dynasty, and of the chapter on Nepal and other scattered references in the official history of the Ming [2]. The account of Nepal in the Ming history has been summarized in English by Bretschneider [3] and translated indo French by Imbault–Huart and by Lévi [4]. Another Chinese text, which concerns the history of Nepalese artistic influence abroad but not political history, is the account of the Nepalese artist A–ni–ko and his activity at the court of Qubilai Khan [5].

Other sources are practically non–existent. Numismatic is of little help, as few coins of this period seem to be extant.

1) Published by R. Gnoli, *Nepalese inscription in Gupta characters* (Serie Orientale Roma, X, 2), Rome 1956. A more uptodate collection is that by Dh. Bajracharya, *Licchavikāl–kā abhilekh*, Kathmandu 2030 VS; it lacks, however, the facsimiles supplied by Gnoli.

2) *Ta Ming Shih–lu*, Taiwan reprint. *Ming–shih*, Po–na–pên edition, Shanghai 1935.

3) E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic sources*, London n. d., II, 222–223.

4) C. Imbault–Huart, *Histoire de la conquête du Népal*, in *J. As.*, 1878/2, 357*n*; S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, 168–169.

5) See later, pp. 99–102.

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CHAPTER II

CHRONOLOGY

The era commonly used in the period under consideration was the Newari Samvat, which starts with Kārttika *śudi pratipad* of Śaka 801 expired (October 20th, 879).

The origin of the Newari Samvat is obscure. The later *vaṃśāvalīs* tell us a rather commonplace tale, which attributes the foundation of the era to one Sakhvā, a merchant of Bhatgaon; there is nothing historical in this legend, as shown by Lévi [1]. On the other side, Kirkpatrick, 262, attributes to king Rāghavadeva the introduction of the Tambul era, i.e. of the Vikrama Samvat of 57 B.C. [2]. Prinsep corrected this account to mean that Rāghavadeva was the founder of the Newari Samvat. Cunningham, Bendall and Lévi accepted his "adjustment", which is now certain beyond any doubt. The statement of Kirkpatrick was based on VK (the Kaisher ms.), which tells us that "Rāghavadeva introduced the era of Śrī-Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka"; this is of course the Newari Samvat, although the name of the chief god of Hindu Nepal is nowhere else connected with the Nepalese era. The informant of Kirkpatrick misunderstood this text, in which the word *samvatsara* is used, as it normally is, in the general sense of era and not in the special meaning of Vikrama Samvat.

What was the event which gave occasion to the founding of the Newari Samvat? Here we are groping in darkness. Lévi put forward a very seducing theory, according to which the Newari Samvat is simply the Śaka era with eight centuries omitted, and this was due to the common belief in Nepal that eight was an unlucky number; so

1) *Le Népal*, II, 179–180.
2) Kirkpatrick, p. 262.

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the dread of living one whole century under the threat of that inauspicious number caused the figure of the century to be dropped, starting thus a new era [1]. This sounds very plausible, and yet we are compelled to abandon this line of thought, for the simple reason that Newari Samvat 1 expired began in Śaka 802 expired, and not in 801 [2]. The main objection, however, rests on the fact that the reckoning employed in Nepal before the Newari Samvat was not the Śaka era, but the so-called "Mānadeva" (practically: Aṃśuvarman) era, which began in the month of Kārttika (c. October) of 576 A.D. [3]. And this is decisive against Lévi's suggestion.

Another theory on the origin of the Newari era was advanced by D. R. Regmi and discussed by him repeatedly [4]. According to this scholar, the foundation of the era marked the accession of a new

1) *Le Népal*, II, 182–184.

2) This is correct only on the supposition that in Nepal the Śaka era was *Kārttikādi amānta*, i.e. began with the new moon of the month of Kārttika, as was the rule in Nepal after Aṃśuvarman. In Northern India the Śaka era was, and still is, *Caitrādi pūrṇimānta*, i.e. it began with the full moon of the month of Caitra; if this was the case in Nepal too (which is unlikely), then the difference would be even larger, of 18½ months.

3) L. Petech, "The chronology of the early inscriptions of Nepal", in *East and West*, 12 (1961), 227–232. To the Nepalese evidence (the *Sumatitantra*, in its main portion compiled not after 850 A.D.) utilized in that article we can add now the colophon of a ms. *Harivaṃśa* published by Nayaraj Pant *et al.*, "VS 633 dekhi Nepālmā nayāṃ saṃvat caleko thiyo bhanne kurākā pramāṇ Nepālmā ra Bhoṭmā garī jammā 4–vaṭā pājekā chan", in *Pūrṇimā*, 39 (2035 VS), 97–98, which gives the following set of dates: Kāliyuga 4756 = Vikrama Samvat 1712 = Śaka Samvat 1577 = Mānadeva era 1079 = Newari Samvat 775, all of them corresponding to 1655 A.D. The era of 576 was confirmed by Dineshraj Pant, "Mānadeva Samvat", in *Pūrṇimā*, 36 (2034 VS), 269–273, and "Cāṃguko Aṃśuvarmāko abhilekhako tithimitiko gaṇanā". ibid., 273–275, and above all by the chronological verifications carried out on the documents by Nayaraj Pant *et al.*, "Aṃśuvarmāharūle vyavahār gareko saṃvat VS 633 dekhi uṭheko ho bhani sakārdā abhilekhakā sabai miti ṭvākka milchan", in *Pūrṇimā*, 39 (2035 VS), 100–118. – Recently the problem was tackled again by Professor Z. Yamaguchi, "The connections between T'u-fan in the first half of the seventh century and Nepal" (in Japanese), in *Tōkyō Daigaku bungaku-bu bunka kōryū kenkyū kiyō* 2–3 (1978), 34–37, and now *Toban ōkoku seiritsu-shi kenkyū* (A study on the establishment of the T'u-fan kingdom), Tokyo 1983, 749–766. Working on the Tibetan materials only, he concluded for an epoch of 572 A.D. This, however, represents merely the theoretical calculations of the Tibetan authors of the 13th and 14th century, which cannot stand against the direct Nepalese evidence.

4) D. R. Regmi, "Sources for a history of Nepal 880–1680 A.D.", in *JBRS*, 28 (1942), 31–36; *Ancient and Medieval Nepal*, Kathmandu 1952, 137; long-winded and inconclusive discussion in *Medieval Nepal*, I, Calcutta 1965, 51–79.

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ruling dynasty. However, in V[1], *VK* and *VD* Rāghavadeva, the founder of the era is merely a member of a long series of kings commencing long before him and continuing after him; there is nothing about him to mark a break in the genealogy. In this particular case I feel that the *argumentum ex silentio* is decisive; until new evidence turns up, we are not justified in admitting a change of dynasty.

All this is purely negative criticism, and I am in the awkward position to have nothing positive to suggest. We can, at any rate, suppose that the expression *Śrī–Paśupati–bhaṭṭāraka–samvatsara* implies that the foundation of the era was due to some religious event connected with the national shrine of Paśupati Nāth. Nothing more can be hazarded at present on this subject.

As pointed out above, the calendar followed in medieval Nepal was *Kārttikādi amānta*, i.e. the year began with the month Kārttika (c. October) and the months ended with the new moon. This is quite normal. But the Nepalese calendar presents striking peculiarities, which may be summarized in two points. Firstly, only two months could be intercalated, viz. Āṣāḍha and Pauṣa. Secondly, most of the dates in medieval documents containing an intercalary month cannot be verified by the Sūrya– or Ārya–Siddhānta, whether by true (*spaṣṭa*) or mean (*madhyama*) reckoning. This goes to show that these Siddhāntas were not followed in the valley, as far as intercalations are concerned.

The theory of the Āṣāḍha–or–Pauṣa intercalation [1] is expounded in a passage of the *Dharmanirnaye Tithisārasaṅgraha*, ms. in the National Archives, I.1634.11; it forms a small section by itself (ff. 21*b*–22*a*), without immediate connection with what precedes and follows. A parallel text is found in the *Sumatitantra*, ms. in the Kaisher Library, no. 82, and this I shall give in the foot–notes.

Caitrādibhādrapadāntāni yadā saṅkrānti udyate |
āṣāḍhamāsa–vṛddhiḥ syān–Nāradasya vaco yathā |

[1] This archaic form of intercalation is essentially that of the *Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga*, based on a cycle (*yuga*) of five years beginning with Māgha *śukla* 1, in the course of which two months were intercalated. The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, II.20.38, explains that this was done after 2½ years (Āṣāḍha) and at the end of the fifth year (Pauṣa). See e.g. H. K. Deb, "Hindu calendar and earlier Siddhāntas", in *JASB*, 27 (1931), 271–283 (chiefly 282–283); Nayaraj Pant, "Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa anusār Āṣāḍha–mā Pauṣa–mā mātra adhimās parchan", in *Pūrṇimā*, 34 (2033 VS), 94–102, 135–136.

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aśvinyādi–phālgunāntāni yadā saṅkrama udyate |
pauṣamāsa nivarddhante māsavṛddhiḥ vidhīyate || [1].
nanu iti katham–ayanam–eva māsavṛddhiḥ ||
karkkaṭe siṃhe hanyāyāṃ tulākīṭe dhanurdhare |
bhāno saṅkramaṇe naṣṭe dvirāṣāḍho vidhīyate |
mṛga–kumbhadhare mīne kriyāyoḥ nṛyuge tathā |
arkka–saṅkramaṇe naṣṭe dvipauṣam kurute budhāḥ |
adhimāsā yadā naṣṭārayaṇe dve sucintayet |
dvirāṣāḍho dvipauṣaśca bhāradvajavaco yathā || [2]
iti dharmanirṇaye tithisārasaṅgrahe adhimāsa–prakaraṇaṃ ||

"When a *saṅkrānti* is raised (i.e. is missing) as to the months beginning with Caitra and ending with Bhādrapada, let there be an additional Āṣāḍha month according to the precept of Nārada. When a *saṅkrānti* is raised (i.e. is missing) as to the months beginning with Āśvina and ending with Phālguna, they increase (i.e. duplicate) Pauṣa, and thus the addition of a month is prescribed".

"Now, how stands the addition of a month in relation with the half–years (*ayaṇa*, the interval between two solstices)? – When the passage of the sun in Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio or Sagittarius is non–existent [in a lunar month], an additional Āṣāḍha is prescribed. When the passage of the sun in Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries and Taurus, or Gemini is non–existent [in a lunar month], wise men make it an intercalary Pauṣa. The intercalary months, if they consider well the two half–years of the non–existent [*saṅkrānti*, are] a second Āṣāḍha and a second Pauṣa according to the

1) These four verses are as follows in the *Sumatitantra*:

Caitrādi–bhādrapadaṃtaḥ yadā saṅkrama udyate
dvirāṣāḍhasyāpi vṛdhyaṃte Nāradasya prakīttitā (?) |
āśvinyādi phālgunaṃtaḥ yadā saṅkrama udyate
dvipauṣasyāpi vṛddhyaṃte Nāradasya prakīttitā (?) ||

Then the text goes on:

āja–gopati–yugmaś–ca karki–siṃhasya kaṃnnyayāḥ
bhāno saṃkramaṇe naṣṭe dvirāṣāḍha vidhīyate |
tul–āli–dhanū–makare ghaṭa–mīnaś ca naṣṭake
Nāradena prakīttante (?) dvipauṣaṃ kurute miti ||

This is simply the same rule stated in terms of solar months, instead of lunar months. But the text is corrupted.

2) There is no counterpart for this in the *Sumatitantra*.

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precepts of Bhāradvāja. Thus the chapter on the intercalary monhts in the *Dharmanirṇaye Tithisārasaṅgraha*".

The text quotes two authorities: Nārada and Bhāradvāja. The first one I thought to refer to the astrological work *Nāradasaṃhitā*, which is one of the traditional 18 *saṃhitās* (a number chosen to match the 18 Purāṇas) [1]; some mss. of the *Nāradasaṃhitā* are extant in the National Archives and elsewhere, and it has been printed by the Sri Venkateshvar Press, Bombay, 1994 VS. But the quotation is not found in the printed text. Kern, however, has pointed out that the original *Nāradasāṃhitā* is lost and that the present work of this name is "a cento of older *saṃhitās*, not genuine and worthless in the bargain" [2]; it has nothing to do with the ancient astronomer Nārada, who is cited by Varāhamihira and seems in his turn to be a different person from the author of the *Nāradīya Dharmaśāstra*. In all likelihood, our quotation is a valuable remnant of this ancient and now lost astronomical work.

The astronomer Bhāradvāja too is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* [3], but little else is known about him.

The two rules here laid down are correlated and start from the same basis. They concern the place and name of the intercalary month (*adhikamāsa*), of which there are six in a cycle of 19 years. The rule followed in India, and in modern Nepal too, is the one laid down by the Sūrya Siddhānta, the Ārya Siddhānta and cognate systems. When a lunar month does not contain a *saṅkrānti* (passage of the sun from one of the zodiac signs to the next; i.e. beginning of a solar month), that lunar month is treated as duplicated or intercalary and takes the name of the lunar month containing the next *saṅkrānti*, but with a prefix indicating its quality of intercalated month, viz. *prathama* (today *adhika*). The month from which the name was taken is then given the prefix *dvir* (today *nija*). Now, according to both Nārada and Bhāradvāja, when one of the first six lunar months of a year contains no *saṅkrānti*, whichever that month may

1) For the list see Sudhākara's *Gaṇatāraṅginī*, as quotes in P. C. Sen's introduction to the Indian reprint of E. Burgess's translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Calcutta 1935, p. VIII.

2) H. Kern, *Preface to the* Bṛhatsaṃhitā *of Varāhamihira*, in *Verspreide Geschriften*, IV, Den Haag 1916, 103.

3) H. Kern, *Op. cit.*, 95–96.

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be, it is always Āṣāḍha which is duplicated as an intercalary month; when one of the last six lunar months contains no *saṅkrānti*, whichever that month may be, it is always Pauṣa which is duplicated as an intercalary month.

From this common basis, the two rules diverge. Nārada looks at the matter from the point of view of the lunar months and for him the starting point of the two (purely calendrical) half–years are the lunar months Caitra (1st) and Āśvini (7th) respectively. Bhāradvāja on the other side looks at the matter from the point of view of the signs of the zodiac, or solar months, and the starting points of the (astronomical) half–years are of course Karkaṭa (Cancer), corresponding to the lunar month Āṣāḍha (4th), and Makara (Capricornus), corresponding to the lunar month Pauṣa (10th). In other words, for Nārada the half–years begin with the equinoxes and for Bhāradvāja with the solstices. Nārada's year is the normal, Caitrādi one, Bhāradvāja's is a special, Āṣāḍhādi one.

It is clear that a similar system was followed in Nepal. But neither Nārada nor Bhāradvāja fulfil all the requirements of the case, because neither of them allows for the possibility of a year beginning with Kārttika. This possibility is provided for in a passage of the work of Jīmūtavāhana, an author of the 11th–12th century:

Vaiśākhādi–tulānteṣu yadi pūrṇadvayam bhavet |
dvirāṣāḍhaḥ sa vijñeyaḥ śayanāvarttanādiṣu || [1]

" When there are two full moons in the [solar] months from Vaiśākha to Tula, this must be known as a duplicated Āṣāḍha, with [Viṣṇu] going to sleep etc. "

And again:

Mādhavādiṣu ṣaṭkeṣu māsi darśadvayaṃ yadā |
dvirāṣāḍhaḥ sa vijñeyo viṣṇuḥ svapiti karkaṭe || [2]

" When there is a double appearance of the moon in the six [solar] months beginning with Mādhava (i.e. Vaiśākha), this is to be reckoned as a duplicated Āṣāḍha and Viṣṇu sleeps in Cancer ".

[1] Jīmūtavāhana's *Kālaviveka*, Bibliotheca Indica edition, Calcutta 1905, 116.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 173.

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The half–year alluded to by Jīmūtavāhana is the second one in a Kārttikādi year, including the lunar months from Vaiśākha to Āśvina. The first half–year obviously would include the months from Kārttika to Caitra and give rise to an intercalation in Pauṣa. It is not expressly treated by the author, perhaps for the practical reason that an *adhika*–Pauṣa occurs far less frequently than an *adhika*–Āṣāḍha.

We have now three systems of intercalation available: Nārada (year beginning with Caitra), Bhāradvāja (year beginning with Āṣāḍha), Jīmūtavāhana (year beginning with Kārttika). The question arises: does any of these coincide with the one followed in Nepal?

To give a satisfactory answer to this question, the safest way is to proceed empirically by a statistical method, for which ample material is available. The following table shows all the *adhikamāsa* documented in the sources available to me for the period 1–600 Newari Samvat. The inclusion of an item between square brackets indicates that the *adhikamāsa* is not actually given in the document, but that the intercalation causes a shift in the names of the preceding or following months and that the date can be verified only if Āṣāḍha or Pauṣa are assumed to be intercalary.

NS	*sāṅkranti* missing in	*adhikamāsa*	source
132	Jyeṣṭha	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 5 of Rudradeva
135	[Caitra	Pauṣa]	Doc. 6 of the three kings
219	[Vaiśākha	Pauṣa]	V², 31*a*
240	Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 3 of Śivadeva
259	[Śrāvaṇa	Āṣāḍha]	ms. *Padmaputrikā*
262	Āṣāḍha	Āṣāḍha	Doc. in the Rudravarṇa–*mahavihāra*, n. 19
265	Vaiśākha	Pauṣa	Doc. 8 of Narendradeva
267	Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 1 of Ānandadeva
270	Āṣāḍha	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 3 of Ānandadeva
276	Phālguna	Pauṣa	Doc. 8 of Ānandadeva
284	Vaiśākha	Pauṣa	colophon, ms. *Yogāmbarasādhana*, Nat. Arch. III.366.6, published in *CPMDN*, II, 54
286	Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha	V³, 32*b*
292	[Jyeṣṭha	Āṣāḍha]	Doc. 8 of Rudradeva
305	Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 2 of Guṇakāmadeva
313	Āśvina	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 2 of Lakṣmīkāmadeva
316	Śrāvaṇa	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 3 of Vijayakāmadeva
362	Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha	V³, 38*b*

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376	Jyeṣṭha	Āṣāḍha	V³, 39*a*
381	Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 1 of Jayabhīmadeva
395	[Jyeṣṭha	Āṣāḍha]	Doc. 1 of Anantamalla
403	Āṣāḍha	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 12 of Anantamalla
406	[Vaiśākha	Pauṣa]	Doc. 17 of Anantamalla
425	[Vaiśākha	Pauṣa]	V³, 42*a*.
427	[Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha]	V³, 42*a*
436	Phālguna	Pauṣa	V³, 44*a*
438	Śrāvaṇa	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 5 of Jayānandadeva
444	Vaiśākha	Pauṣa	V³, 45*b*
446	Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha	V³, 46*b*
454	Āśvina	Āṣāḍha ..	V³, 47*a*
473	Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha	colophon, ms. *Navagrahadaśāvicāra*, Nat. Arch., IV.27
476	Śrāvaṇa	Āṣāḍha	V³, 53*b*
487	Āṣāḍha	Āṣāḍha	V³, 54*b*
495	Śrāvaṇa	Āṣāḍha	V³, 56*a*
498	[Jyeṣṭha	Āṣāḍha]	V³, 57*b*
506	Āṣāḍha	Āṣāḍha	V³, 62*b*
509	[Jyeṣṭha	Pauṣa]	Doc. 22 and 23 of Jayasthitimalla
511	Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 26 of Jayasthitimalla
514	Śrāvaṇa	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 33 of Jayasthitimalla
522	[Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha]	Doc. 13 of Jayadharmamalla
525	Āṣāḍha	Āṣāḍha	Doc. of Śaktisiṃha Rāma
528	[Vaiśākha	Pauṣa]	Doc. 22 of Jayajyotirmalla
541	Śrāvaṇa	Āṣāḍha	colophon, ms. *Uṣmabheda*, Nat. Arch., I.1076.25
544	Āṣāḍha	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 28 of Jayajyotirmalla
549	Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha	Doc. 4 of Jayayakṣamalla
574	Jyeṣṭha	Pauṣa	Doc. 30 of Jayayakṣamalla

The final result may be tabulated as follows:

Saṅkranti missing in	*adhikamāsa*
Kārttika	—
Mārgaśirṣa	—
Pauṣa	—
Māgha	—
Phālguna	Pauṣa
Caitra	Pauṣa
Vaiśākha	Pauṣa
Jyeṣṭha	till c. 500: Āṣāḍha; after c. 500: Pauṣa
Āṣāḍha	Āṣāḍha
Śrāvaṇa	Āṣāḍha
Bhādrapada	Āṣāḍha
Āśvina	Āṣāḍha

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This table calls for some remarks. We have no evidence for Kārttika. As for the following three months, no *saṅkrānti* can be missing in the short months of Pauṣa and Māgha; and instances of a Mārgaśirṣa without *saṅkrānti* are exceedingly rare, only two such cases occurring during the whole of the first six centuries of the Newari era [1].

The result of our enquiry are rather startling. For the period before c. 500 NS the intercalation system follows neither Nārada nor Bhāradvāja nor Jīmūtavāhana, but works with a year beginning with Mārgaśirṣa. In other words, the Newari Samvat was Kārttikādi, but for the purposes of intercalation it functioned as if it were Mārgaśirṣādi. Such a system does not occur in any of the historical eras current in India; but it was not unknown in earlier times, as shown, if by nothing else, by an alternative name of that month: Agrahāyana, meaning "beginning of the year"; other pieces of evidence can be added [2]. Nepal had maintained this archaic reckoning even when had long been abandoned elsewhere.

At some date after 498 and before 509 NS a change took place by which henceforward a *saṅkrānti* missing in the month of Jyeṣṭha resulted into an *adhika*–Pauṣa and no longer an *adhika*–Āṣāḍha. This caused the Nepalese calendar to fall into line with the Bhāradvāja system as sketched above. The chronicle is silent about this reform; but we might find an allusion in a passage which relates as an extraordinary fact that in the month Mārgaśirṣa of 501 NS two *saṅkrāntis* were included (which would have caused an expunged [*kṣaya*] month in the Sūrya–Siddhānta). It attributes to this calendrical event the loss of half the harvest of the country; both the east and to the west of the Valley it was impossible to plant the rice, and the crops were also damaged by hailstorms [3].

Some further remarks are called for, in order to complete our discussion. The theory of the Nepalese system did not permit expunged (*kṣaya*) months. This is shown in practice by Doc. 4 of

1) All the chronological calculations in the present work are based on Swamikkannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, 7 vols., Madras 1922.

2) A year beginning with Mārgaśirṣa is attested in *Mahābhārata*, XIII.109.17 seqq. and XIII.App.I.12; in the *Amarakoṣa*, I.3.14; in Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, I.4; and in al-Beruni, *India* (transl. E. Sachau), I, 8. See also C. Vogel, "Die Jahreszeiten im Spiegel der altindischen Literatur", in *ZDMG* 1971, 294–300.

3) V^3, 59*b*. The text has actually 500, an obvious slip of the pen.

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Baladeva, in which the month Pauṣa of 173 NS, which was *kṣaya* according to the Sūrya–Siddhānta, corresponded to Māgha in Nepal. Even more instructive is the case of 501 NS, when several entries in the old chronicles show that Kārttika was not intercalary and that the following Mārgaśirṣa was not *kṣaya*, as they were bound to be in the Sūrya–Siddhānta.

As far as I know, the Āṣāḍha–or–Pauṣa intercalation was employed in Nepal and nowhere else. It was used since the earliest beginnings, because it occurs already in the Licchavi inscriptions [1], and was abandoned only after the end of the medieval period: the first instance of an *adhika* (*naṣṭa* as it was called in Nepal) month different from Āṣāḍha and Pauṣa is found in the Thaiba inscription of 644 NS *naṣṭa*–Bhādrapada [2]. We infer that this change, which amounted to a second radical reform, was introduced at some time after the death of Jayayakṣamalla. It brought the Nepalese calendar in line with the normal Indian usage.

Other eras are scarcely used in this period. In two instances, both of them from inscriptions (doc. 27 of Jayasthitimalla and doc. 18 of Jayadharma Malla), the author, probably the same man in both cases, wished to show off his chronological knowledge and gave the date according to no less than four eras: Kaliyuga, Vikrama, Śaka and Newari. The Kali era is found nowhere else. The Vikrama occurs only once, in doc. 15 of Arimalla, wich is dated in Vikrama and Newari Samvat; but the scribe was a foreigner from Gujarat, and it is but natural that he should use the era current in his native country along with the local one. Of the Śaka era only two other instances are known: doc. 13 of Jayārjunadeva (Ś. 1297) and doc. 1 of Jayayakṣamalla (Ś. 1350). We may remark that the Śaka era was the one most frequently used in the mountains outside the valley. Pṛthivī Nārāyaṇ introduced it as the official reckoning of Nepal, and it was used on the coins till it gave place to the Vikrama Samvat [3]. The latter is now the official era of Nepal.

1) The dates with intercalary months found in the Licchavi inscriptions hitherto published have only Āṣāḍha and Pauṣa. But they cannot be verified by any known system, the medieval Nepalese not excluded. The question ought to be the subject of a special study.

2) Regmi, IV, 1–2.

3) E. C. Walsh, *The coinage of Nepal*, in *JRAS*, 1908, 755.

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CHAPTER III

THE LATE LICCHAVI PERIOD

The ancient history of Nepal, i.e. the so-called Licchavi period from the late 4th to the 8th century, is known to us from a comparatively large body of evidence; its mainstay is a rich epigraphy, supported by the bare royal lists of the early *vaṃśāvalīs* and by scanty Chinese and Tibetan sources. After the second quarter of the 8th century, i.e. after the Paśupati Nāth *praśāsti* of Jayadeva (157 Aṃśuvarman era, 733 A.D.), inscriptions are few, unimportant and badly preserved. The most recent epigraphical collection lists ten dated inscriptions ranging from 170 to 250 Aṃś. Era [1]; but only three of them bear the name of a ruler:

1) Inscription in the Yanga Bahal, Patan, dated 180 Māgha *kṛṣṇa* 2 in the reign of śrī-Mānadeva (no. 172); the date corresponds to December 27th, 756 A.D.

2) Fragmentary inscription in the Tana Bahal, Kathmandu, dated Āṣāḍha *kṛṣṇa* 7 of a year which cannot be read any more, in the reign of ...*rāja-parameśvara-śrī-Mānadeva* (no. 173).

3) Motitar (near Patan) inscription dated 250 *prathama*-Āṣāḍha 2 on a fountain made by one Balīrāja, who may be not a ruler, but a private person. There was no Kanyā *saṅkrānti* in Āśvina, which gives an intercalary Āṣāḍha in the Nepalese calendar. The date corresponds to May 31st, 827.

The Mānadeva of 756 A.D. cannot be placed with any degree of certainty in the series of the Nepalese kings. And thus the second

[1] Dh. Bajracharya, *Licchavikal-kā abhilekh*, Kirtipur 2030 VS, nos. 170-179. To these we may add a fragmentary ms. of the *Parameśvaratantra*, Cambridge University Library, Add.1049, in transitional Gupta characters, bearing the date 252; *CBMC*, pp. xxxix-xliii and 28. No name of king is given.

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half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century of our era remain an almost complete blank, as far as the epigraphical evidence is concerned.

We are reduced to the information supplied by the *vaṃśāvalīs*. This material consist of lists of kings and regnal years, with some scattered mentions of events concerning the religious history of the country: pious foundations, gifts to temples etc. These lists are palpably untrustworthy. The regnal years attributed to each king are in many instances too high and in all cases beyond any possibility of control. The order of the lists has been disturbed by four factors.

1) Omissions; this is particularly the case in the later *vaṃśāvalīs*, but Jayadeva himself, the king of the great Paśupati Nāth inscription, is omitted even in the older lists.

2) Repetitions; e.g. the famous Śivadeva, who was a contemporary of Aṃśuvarman, occurs twice, as nn. 7 and 12 of the following table.

3) Misplacements; e.g. Mānadeva (Licchavi) is placed by V[1] before Śaṅkaradeva, who on the evidence of the inscriptions was his grandfather.

4) Dynasties who ruled at the same time are placed in succession; thus the Gupta group (Jiṣṇugupta etc.) occurs in V[1] as nn. 4–6 before the kings (Dhruvadeva/Dhruvavarman and Mānadeva/Mānavarman) whose suzerainty the Guptas themselves in their inscriptions professed to recognize. The result is that, in the words of S. Lévi, "the dynastic lists for this period embarrass the critics rather than aid them".

The following table shows the royal lists and regnal years according to V[1], VK (usually followed by VD) and VW (with which VL mostly agrees). Double figures in the regnal periods refer of course to years and months. In the second column the names and years are taken from VD, with the variant dates of Kirkpatrick between brackets, down to no. 17. Starting from no. 18 the years are those of VK, with the occasional variants of VD between brackets.

	V[1]	*VK/VD*	*VW*
1.	Śivadeva, 41–6	Śivadeva, 41–6	Śivadevavarman, 51
1*a*.	Campādeva, 41–9	—	—
2.	Narendradeva, 34	Narendradeva, 34	Narendradevavarman, 42

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3.	Bhīmadeva, 14	Bhīmadevadeva, 16	Bhīmadevavarman, 42
4.	Jīvagupta, 74	Viṣṇu(Jiṣṇu)gupta, 74	—
5.	Viṣṇugupta, 71	Viṣṇugupta, 61	Viṣṇudevavarman, 41
6.	Bhūmigupta, 45	Bhūmigupta, 45 (Kirk.: 40)	—
7.	Śivadeva, 41	Śivadeva, 41	Viśvadevavarman, 51 (*VL*: Viśvaguptadeva, n.y.)
8.	Aṃśuvarman, 43	Aṃśuvarman, 53 (Kirk.: 42)	Aṃśuvarman, 68
9.	Kṛtavarman, 56	Kṛtavarman, 18	Kṛtavarman, 87
9*a*.	Mahīpāla, n.y.	—	—
9*b*.	Devaladeva, 10	—	—
9*c*.	Dhruvavarman, 108	—	—
10.	Bhīmārjunadeva, 35	Bhīmārjunadeva, 37 (Kirk.: 39)	Bhīmārjuna, 93
11.	Candradeva, 13	Nandadeva, 13	Nandadeva, 95
12.	Śivadeva, 16	Śivadeva, 16	Vīradeva, 95
12*a*.	—	—	Candraketudeva, n.y. (VL: *deest*)
13.	Narendradeva, 35	Narīndradeva, 33	Narendradeva, 7
14.	Baladeva, 17	Baladeva, 17	Varadeva, 8 (*VL*: Baladeva, 23)
14*a*.	—	Śanṣaradeva(*sic*), 12 (Kirk.: *deest*)	Śaṅkaradeva, 12
15.	Varddhamānadeva, 16	Vardhamānadeva, 16	Vardhamānadeva, 13
16.	Śaṅkaradeva, 12	Śaṅkaradeva, 12	—
16*a*.	—	Bhīmārjunadeva, 16	—
17.	Vasantadeva, 21	Jayadeva, 19	—
17*a*.	—	Baladeva, 16	Balideva, 13 (*VL*: 12)
17*b*.	domination of the Bhoṭa Rājā	domination of the Bhoṭa Rājā	—
18.	Rudradeva, 27	Rudradeva, 26 (*VD*: 27)	—
19.	Jayadeva, 42–5	Jayadeva, 42–7 (VD: 42–11)	Jayadeva, 15
20.	Baladeva, 11	Baladeva, 11	—
21.	Balārjunadeva, 21–5	Balārjunadeva, 21–7 (VD: 36–7)	Balārjunadeva, 17
22.	Mānadeva, 31	Mānadeva, 36	—
23.	Rāghavadeva, 43–6	Rāghavadeva, 63–6 (VD: 63–8)	—
24.	Jayadeva, 10	—	—
24*a*.	—	Śaṅkaradeva, 18–6	—
24*b*.	—	Sahadeva, 33–9	—
25.	Vikramadeva, 8–9	Vikramadeva, 1	Vikramadeva, 12
26.	Narendradeva, 1–6	Narendradeva, 1–6	—
27.	Guṇakāmadeva, 85–6	Guṇakāmadeva, 85–6	Guṇakāmadeva, 51 (VL: Guṇadeva, 51)

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Of course there is no question of seeking a correlation between these lists and the almost non-existing epigraphical evidence; the Mānadeva of 180 Aṃś. Era (756 A.D.) finds no counterpart at all in the lists, where the only Mānadeva available (n. 22) belongs definitely to the third quarter of the 9th century.

It remains to turn to the foreign sources, in the hope to find some faint gleam of light in these dark centuries. The most vexing and complicated problem in this field is that of the relations between Tibet and Nepal. We must take our start from the Chinese official account of Nepal, which is practically identical in all the Chinese texts dealing with the T'ang period [1]. In 643 or 644 the Tibetans helped the pretender Narendradeva, then a refugee in Tibet, to overthrow the usurper Viṣṇugupta, restoring the Licchavi dynasty to the throne. After this the king remained a protegee of Tibet. In 648 the Tibetans requested and obtained Nepalese collaboration in their support for the imperial ambassador Wang Hsüan-ts'ê, who had been robbed and whose escort had been massacred in Tirhut. The account closes with the mission despatched by Narendradeva to the Chinese court in 651, as a mere diplomatic gesture. In a fragment possibly going back to Wang Hsüan-ts'ê [2] Nepal is described as a state subordinate (*shu*) to Tibet.

To the same period belongs the well-known tale of the marriage of the Tibetan king Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po with a daughter of a Nepalese king usually called 'Od-zer-go-c'a (translating Aṃśuvarman). This is unlikely for chronological reasons and it has been rightly suggested that her father was Dhruvadeva or Narendradeva [3]. According to Professor Tucci she is simply a mythical figure [4]. In any

[1] *T'ung-tien* (of 801), ch.190; *Chiu T'ang-shu* (of 945), ch.198; *T'ung-hui-yao* (of 961), ch.100; *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü-chi* (of c.980), ch. 85; *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* (of 983), ch.795.

[2] *Shih-chia fang-chih* (T.2088), vol. 51, 961*b*.

[3] H. Sato, *Kodai Chibetto-shi kenkyū* (Historical study of ancient Tibet), Kyoto 1958, 269-276; Z. Yamaguchi, "The connection between T'u-fan and Nepal in the first half of the 7th century" (in Japanese), in *Tōkyō Daigaku bungaku-bu bunka kōryū kenkyū shisetsu kenkyū kiyō*, 2-3 (1978), 29-55; same author, *Toban ōkoku seiritsu-shi kenkyū* (A study on the establishment of the T'u-fan kingdom), Tokyo 1983, 756-760, 772. Independently from the Japanese scholars and without a critical study of the relevant evidence, the same suggestion was put forward by D. R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*[3], 186, and M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, Princeton 1982, 33*b*.

[4] G. Tucci, "The wives of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po", in *Orienls Extremus*, 9 (1962), 121-126 (= *Opera Minora*, Rome 1971, 605-611).

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case the tale, which cannot be discussed here, implies relations as between equals.

The evidence for a continuation of Tibetan ascendancy after 651 is flimsy and highly controversial. The Chinese official account ends with 651. But another text is available, which is usually taken to show that the Tibetan paramountcy lasted until in 704 a revolt put an end to it. It reads: [Shortly after 702] " the kingdoms subjected to the Tibetans on the southern frontier, viz. Ni–p'o–lo–men etc., all of them revolted. The Tibetan ruler went personally to fight them, but died in camp ... In 705 the Tibetans sent ambassadors [to China] to announce the demise [of their ruler] " [1].

Ni–p'o–lo–men is usually supposed to be a contraction of Ni–po–lo P'o–lo–men, meaning Nepal and the Brahmans (i.e. the Hindus) or the Brahmans of Nepal. A comparison with the contemporary version of the same events found in our oldest Tibetan source, the so–called Annals of Tun–huang [2], shows, however, that Ni–p'o–lo–men (a name which is corrupted in any case) ought to be located in or near the region called 'Jaṅ by the Tibetans, i.e. the Mo–so country on the northern border of the modern Chinese province of Yünnan, where the Tibetan ruler met his end [3]. Shortly after (c. 728) it was to be merged into the newly–formed independent kingdom of Nan Chao [4]. We are far away from Nepal.

Summing up, both the silence (betraying lack of information) in the Chinese standard account of Nepal and the confuse information on the events of 704 seem to imply that the Tibetan ascendancy in Nepal had waned during the decades after 651.

1 *Chiu T'ang–shu*, 196–A, 5*b*; translated by P. Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, Paris 1961, 12. Practically the same information is conveyed by the biography of general Kuo Yüan–chen in *Chiu T'ang–shu*, 97, 5*a*, translated by E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou–kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1900, 186. All the remaining Chinese texts omit this account and limit themselves to the bare statement that the king of Tibet died (i.e. the news was received at court) in 705.

2) J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint, *Documents de Touen–houang rélatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris 1940, 19.

3) The demonstration of this identification will be given in a study on the succession to the Tibetan throne in 704/5, due to appear in the forthcoming Memorial Volume for Professor G. Tucci.

4) Ch. Backus, *The Nan–chao kingdom and T'ang China's south–west frontier*, Cambridge Un. Press 1981, 29–30.

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As for the 8th and 9th centuries, let us first clear the ground from two irrelevant pieces of information which have been the source of some confusion. One is the name Bal–po, often occurring in the Annals of Tun–huang as that of a place or district used by the Tibetan kings as their summer residence [1]. Today Bal–po or Bal–yul is the normal Tibetan name for Nepal. But it was certainly not so during the 7th–9th centuries, chiefly because the Chinese texts prove this identification to be untenable. The itinerary preserved in the New History of the T'ang dynasty and describing the route from Shan–chou (near modern Hsining) to Lhasa and beyond, crosses the Tsangpo and terminates at the royal camp, to the southwest of which there is a great lake (*hai*, literally "sea") called Pa–pu 拔布 [2]. According to the transcription rules prevailing in the T'ang period, Pa–pu (ancient pronon. *b'uât puo*) is a perfect transcription of Bal–po. Elsewhere we are told that the Tibetan ruler resided either in the valley of Lhasa or in the valley of Pa–pu 跋布 (*b'uât puo*) [3]. Most probably this region is to be looked for in the highlands to the north–east of the great Palti lake (or Yamdrok–tso) [4]. Besides, it has been aptly pointed out long ago that no highland Tibetan would go willingly to spend the summer in the comparatively warm climate of Nepal [5].

The other item of evidence to be discussed is the word *lho bal*. It repeatedly occurs in a document found at Tun–huang (ms. Pelliot Tibétain no. 1089), dated in a Mouse year (probably 820 or perhaps 832); it designates an outer dependency of Tibet and the seat of Tibetan officers, such as a *to–dog* (local administrator), a *dmag–dpon c'uṅ–ṅu* (junior army chief) and a *k'ri–dpon* (chief of an one–thousand district) [6]. The term occurs also in the second edict of the Tibetan

1) J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint, *Op. cit.*, 34, 37–39, 41–46.

2) *T'ang–shu*, 40.8*a–b*; translated by P. Pelliot, *Histoire ancienne du Tibet*, 142.

3) *T'ang–shu*, 216–A, 1*a*; P. Pelliot, *Op. cit.*, 80.

4) H. Sato, "The route from Kokonor to Lhasa during the T'ang period", in *Acta Asiatica*, 29 (1975), 16, located Bal–po in the level strip along the Lhasa river (sKyid–c'u), which seems less probable.

5) G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, II, Rome 1958, 34–36.

6) M. Lalou, "Revendications des fonctionnaires du Grand Tibet", in *J.As.* 1955, 181, 183, 185. The document has been studied afresh by Z. Yamaguchi, "Foundation of two military settlements of the Tibetan army consisting of Chinese at Sha–cu and

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king K'ri-sron-lde-brtsaṅ (755-797) [1], in 1.19 of the East face of the Lhasa pillar containing the Tibetan-Chinese treaty of 821/2 and in the Tibetan adaptation of the *Shu-ching*. Taking at its face value, *lho bal* could mean Bal[-po], i.e. Nepal, of the south (*lho*), and so it has been understood by Western scholars till recent times. However, the context in all these documents, as well as in Pelliot Tibétain no. 1071 and no. 1085), shows quite clearly that *lho bal* was a disparaging term by which the Tibetans of the 8th-9th centuries indicated the « foreigners » or « barbarians », including the Chinese in general and the Chinese inhabitants of Tibetan-dominated Sha-chou (Tun-huang) in particular [2]. The origin of the term is obscure; but certainly it has nothing to do with Nepal.

The only item which may be relevant to the problem of Tibeto-Nepalese relations is a puzzling passage in V[1], 23*a*, inserted after the reign of Vasantadeva (no. 17 of the list): *tatpaścād Bhoṭarājenamāyātiḥ Nepālamaṇḍale rājyaṃ karoti.* This barbarous Sanskrit tinged with Newari can only be translated: " After him the king of Bhoṭa came and established his rule in the Nepal valley ". VD gives a corrupt version of the same text: *paścāt Bhoṭa-maṇḍale svarājyaṃ karoti.* Then V[1] tells us that the next king Rudradeva (no. 18) " established again his rule unimpeded as far as the frontier of Cākum-Bhoṭa " (*tena Cākum-Bhoṭata prajyanta niṣkaṇṭaka rājya karoti*); more or less the same text is found in VK and VD. Of course it is impossible to suggest an even approximate datation for these events.

Two interpretations are possible: either Bhoṭa is Tibet, or it is the same as Bhonta, the medieval name of the Banepa region to the east of the Valley. Arguments can be put forward in favour of both theories.

an attempt to locate mKhar-tsan " (in Japanese), in *Tōkyō Daigaku bungaku-bu bunka kōryū kenkyū shisetsu kenkyū kiyō*, 4 (1980), 13-47.

1) G. Tucci, *The tombs of the Tibetan kings*, Rome 1950, 47.

2) See R. A. Stein, " Saint et divin: un titre tibétain et chinois des rois tibétains ", in *J.As.* 1981, 151, n. 51, and the more detailed discussion by the same scholar: " Tibetica Antiqua I: Les deux vocabulaires des traductions indo-tibétaine et sino-tibétaine dans les manuscripts de Touen-houang ", in *BEFEO* 72 (1983), 205-207. See also H. Richardson, " Bal-po and Lho- bal ", in *BSOAS* 46 (1983), 136-138. Independently from both authors I had already reached the conclusion that *lho bal* cannot refer to Nepal.

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It is an established fact that Bhoṭa (from Tibetan Bod) is the Sanskrit name for Tibet, as shown e.g. by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kashmir. It is also a fact that in the whole of the old chronicle (*VBd*) and in all the colophons (with one late exception) the name of the Banepa region is spelt Bhonta or Bhvanta or Bhuvanta, but usually with the dental mute, seldom if ever with the cerebral *ṭ*.

In favour of the second possibility stands the geographical and historical setting. It seems rather difficult to conceive an expedition led personally by a Tibetan king so far south, while the Bhonta district is a next–door neighbour, being simply an annexe of the Valley of Nepal. Moreover, the tradition which identifies this Bhoṭa with Banepa is not only generally accepted today by the Nepalese scholars, but was current also at the end of the 18th century, when Kirkpatrick, following the corrupt version of VD (which was presumably found in VK as well), stated that under Sree Bull Deo (n. 17a) the Banepa valley was annexed to Nepal [1].

The balance is almost even and I am not prepared to decide the question either way, although it must be conceded that the graphical difference between Bhoṭa and Bhonta scores a little point in favour of Tibet; but it seems insufficient for weighing down the scales [2].

Another doubtful item concerns that mysterious ruler Aramuḍi, chief of Nepal, who opposed, defeated and took prisoner king Jayapīḍa (c. 770–800) of Kashmir on the banks of a river near its mouth in the ocean (which is a patent geographical absurdity); later Aramuḍi was defeated in his turn and compelled to release his prisoner and to make peace with him [3]. The mention of the Kāla–Gaṇḍikā river, where Aramuḍi's final defeat took place, shows that he ruled the country on the Kālī–Gaṇḍakī river, possibly around Palpa. In any case no name like Aramuḍi is found in the lists of the Nepalese kings, nor can it be a Tibetan name as S. Lévi suggested [4].

Even more open to doubt is the possibility of an invasion from Bengal. It arises from a vague piece of information supplied by the Monghyr copper–plate inscription of Devapāla of Bengal. It tells

1) W. Kirkpatrick, *An account of the kingdom of Nepaul*, 267.
2) M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 34*b*, too gives a doubtful preference to Tibet.
3) *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV.531–581.
4) *Le Népal*, II, 177–178.

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us that Dharmapāla (c. 770–810) in the course of his expeditions "bathed according to precept at Kedāra and at *Gaṅgā–sametāmbudhi* = Gaṅgāsāgara) and performed holy rites at Gokarna and other sacred shrines" [1]. There is some possibility that Gokarṇa may be the shrine of that name west of Bhatgaon [2]; the more so, as Nepalese tradition, as embodied in the *Svayambhū–māhātmya*, knows of Dharmapāla, a Gauḍa king who ruled over Nepal (although this is placed in the hoariest antiquity). Of course this would have been a passing raid. But there were other Gokarṇa shrines in India and we cannot be sure that the Nepalese Gokarṇa is intended [3].

Resuming our investigation of the royal list, the next king Jayadeva (no. 19) is a mere name for us. His successor Baladeva (no. 20) is known from a fragmentary inscription at Changu Narayan, dated *Samvat 271 Vaiśākha–śukla–diva–pañcamyāṃ ... rāja–śrī–Baladeva–rājye* [4]. The date corresponds to April 8th, 848 A.D., and seems to fit well into the list of kings; it represents the first chronological prop available for the traditional genealogies of the late Licchavi period.

The next king Balārjunadeva (no. 21) gave his crown to Bugma Lokeśvara, later identified with Matsyendranāth (V[1], 23*a*; VK).

Mānadeva (no. 22) is evidenced by an early palm–leaf manuscript.

Ms. *Saušrutisaṃhitā Sahottaratantra*, Kaisher Library, n. 699. Colophon [5]: *Rājñi śrī–Mānadeva pṛthusitayaśaśi prodyadindu–prakāśe kāle puṇyajyasthe sakalajanamano abhiramye vasante varṣe caikottare 'smin tritayaśatagate Mādhave* (= Vaiśakha) *māsi śukle saptamyāṃ Puṣya–ṛkṣye daśa[śa]takiraṇa* (= Sunday) *vāsare Siddhi yoge ..... śrī–Gaṇadeva–devakula–dūrigvalaka–nivāsino vaidya–Vasuvarmanaḥ pustakam–idam.* The date is verified for Sunday, April 13th, 878 [6], except for the Siddhi *yoga*, which ended on April 19th.

1) *Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, 305.

2) N. N. Das Gupta, "The Gokarṇa tīrtha and Dharmapāla", in *Indian Culture*, 4 (1937–38), 264–266.

3) For a negative opinion, supported by fairly strong arguments, see Regmi, I, 88–100.

4) Dh. Bajracharya, *Licchavikāl–kā abhilekh*, no. 180.

5) Published with some misprints by D. R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*[3], Calcutta 1969, 208, and more correctly by Dh. Bajracharya, *Op. cit.*, no. 190.

6) The date was elaborately verified by Nayaraj Pant *et al.*, in *Pūrṇimā*, 39 (2035 VS), 111–117; they did not calculate the *yoga*.

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According to the old chronicle (V^1, 23*a*), Mānadeva built the Hnol (VD: Balbanādaṃ; VK: Bahulanādaṃ) palace (*tavanimaṃ*) in Patan. The *vihāra* attached to this New Palace (*hnol* = new) will appear later in the documents; it is the modern Nhu Baha (or Navavihāra).

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CHAPTER IV

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

The heading of this chapter requires some justification. The modern *vaṃśāvalīs*, followed by Western and Nepalese authors, list for this period three dynasties, to whom they give the name Thākurī: a first one from Aṃśuvarman till c. 1039, the Thākurīs of Nuvakoth c. 1039–1082, and the Thākurīs of Patan c. 1082–1200. As everybody agrees, the authority of these texts is almost nil. Moreover, the term *thākurī*, which in Nepal is equivalent to *kṣatriya*, is not found in the early *vaṃśāvalīs* (V[1], VK), which use exclusively the name Sūryavaṃśī. But Sūryavaṃśī (solar dynasty) is a very general term, and it applies to the Mallas as well. Therefore, I adopt now the non-committal heading Transitional Period [1].

As we have seen, Rāghavadeva (n. 23 of the list of kings) started the Śrī-Paśupati-bhaṭṭāraka-samvatsara, i.e. the Newari Samvat of Kārttika 879.

Concerning the following reigns, V[1] and VK (which VD) differ widely. According to V[1], Rāghavadeva reigned for 43 years and 6 months and was succeeded by Jayadeva (10 years) and Vikramadeva (8 years and 9 months); according to VK and VD Rāghavadeva reigned for 63 years and 6 months and was followed by Śaṅkaradeva (18 years and 6 months), Sahadeva (33 years and 9 months) and Vikramadeva (1 year). A choice between the two lists is made possible by the following documents:

1) Ms. *Prajñāpāramitā*, Mahābauddha Vihāra in Patan. Colophon [2]: *Samvat* 40 *bhādrapada-śukla-diva pūrṇamāsyāṃ Pb.-M.-P.-śrī-Śaṅkaradeva-rājye śrī-Lalitabrumaḥ*

[1] The term was first proposed by M. S. Slusser, "Indreśvara Mahādeva, a thirteenth-century Nepalese shrine", in *Artibus Asiae*, 41 (1979), 186, and again in *Nepal Mandala*, 42*b*.

[2] First published in *AS*, 9 (2020 VS), 15n; then again in Regmi, I, 109–110.

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śrī–Mahāvāṭīgvāla–vihārādhivāsinā śākyabhikṣuṇyāṣṭhavirani Akṣayamatyā ..... śrī–Gaṅgvalottaraṭolakādhivāsinā vārtta–Divakārasiṃhena likhitvā iti. Written at Patan; the Gaṅgvalottara Tol was probably the ward in which the present–day Gvaṃgaḥ Bahal was situated. The date corresponds to September 1st, 920.

2) Inscription on the pedestal of an image of Mañjuśrī (the earliest found in Nepal) in a temple near the Jaisi Bahal, Kathmandu [1]. Dated .... *Jyeṣṭha–purṇṇamāsyam* ..... [*Śaṅkara*]*deva*... etc. The inscription is almost obliterated, but according to Gautamabajra Bajracharya "the abraded space for the year date between the expected salutation *Oṃ* and the visible month date is so small that is could only accommodate a single sign, which, however, can render two digits such as 20, 30, 40. There are enough letters remaining of the ruler's name to reconstruct it as Śaṅkaradeva" [2], The paleography points to the 10th century, so the record cannot refer to Śaṅkaradeva of c. 1069–1082.

These documents prove that the list of VK and VD is the correct one, although its regnal years are impossibly long. Taking into account the average length of generations, we may place Śaṅkaradeva in c. 905–930. Nothing is known of the events of his reing.

His two successors Sahadeva and Vikramadeva, among whom the kings of the parallel list in V[1] should perhaps be inserted, are mere names to us. After Vikramadeva the order of succession and the chronology of the rulers can be substantiated from colophons and inscriptions, which means that we are entering the realm of positive history, even if it is at first a merely dynastic one. The available sources do not allow us to go beyond this.

Guṇakāmadeva (c. 980–998)

According to both V[1] and VK/VD the successor of Vikramadeva was Narendradeva, followed by Guṇakāmadeva. But the actual order is the reverse, as shown beyond doubt by our materials. Three documents of Guṇakāmadeva are extant:

1) Inscription on the socle of the image in the Umā–Maheśvara temple in the Kwa Bahal Tol, Patan [3]. Dated *rājye śrī–Guṇakāmadeva–nṛpates saptottare 'bde śate*

[1] Published, as far as he could read it, by Regmi, III, 2.

[2] Cited by M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 286*b*.

[3] Published in *AS*, 9 (2020 VS), 34. Another (incomplete) edition is found in Regmi, III, 9, where the date is read as 307 (*saptottare triśate*). The reading was repeatedly discussed. Since *tithi* and *pakṣa* are not given, a verification cannot decide the issue, as the elements available fit for January 21st, 1187, as well. P. Pal, *The arts of Nepal*, I: *Sculpture*, Leiden 1974, 32–33, prefers the reading 307. But several other scholars uphold 107, mainly on stylistical grounds; Dh. Bajracharya in *CNS* 5, 103–104;

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Māghe māsi ca Rohiṇī budhadi[ne] śrī–Māniglake surālaye. The date is verified for Wednesday, January 12th, 987.

2) Fragmentary inscription outside the Macchindra Bahal in Patan [1]. Begins: ..... *saptamyāṃ bhaṭṭāraka–mahārā[jādhirāia....Guṇakāma]devasya rājyaṃ || Saṃvat 109 vaiśākha–śukla–diva dvitīyā...* The name of the king is lost, but the restitution is practically certain, because of chronological reasons. The date corresponds to April 1st or 2nd, 989.

3) Ms. *Sumatipañjikā*, National Archives, V.732. Colophon [2]: *Rāja–śrī–Guṇakāmadeva–vibhunā svasyaikarājye kṛte varṣe 'smin diśam–uttare śatatame ..... dine tārādha-niṣṭhānvite.* The year 110 corresponds to 989–990 A.D.

This king ruled for 85 years and 6 months according to V1 and VK/VD, and 51 years according to the modern chronicles; provisionally I would allot him at least 18 years (c. 980–998). He plays a great role in V1 and VK/VD which relate his lavish donations to the shrine of Paśupati. In the later chronicles he is credited with the foundation of Kathmandu, although the date they give for this event (Kaliyuga 3824, A.D. 723/4) is much earlier than his reign [3]. Judging solely by the accounts of the chronicles, S. Lévi was right in remarking that Guṇakāmadeva can be reckoned as a forceful personality in this long row of shadowy kings.

The expression *svasyaikarājye* in Doc. 3 is interesting and should not be overlooked. The fact that by 990 Guṇakāmadeva " had established his own sole rule " implies that before that date he had shared it with somebody else. This could happen either because he had a colleague on the throne or because the kingdom was divided into two halves. Both possibilities are covered by an institution which seems to have flourished in Nepal in the early medieval period (10th–12th centuries), reappearing later with different features: the *dvairājya* (or *dvirājyaka* in the Nepalese documents).

The term *dvairājya* in Indian polity has two distinct meanings. It could apply to the joint rule of two kings, equal in rank or with a mere precedence of seniority, each ruling over one half of the kingdom which however continues to be formally considered as a whole.

K. Khandalavala, " The chronology of the arts of Nepal and Kashmir ", in *Lalit Kala* 19 (1979), 33; M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 43*b*. In my opinion the earlier datation can be safely accepted.

1) Published in *AS*, 5 (2019 VS), 10.

2) Published in *AS*, 9 (2020 VS), 14; also by Regmi, I, 110, with the correct date but with some wrong readings.

3) See the discussion by S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II. 184–186.

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Without recalling the well-known instances of this institution among the Hsiung-nu and the Orkhon Turks, examples are not lacking in India itself; the *locus classicus* is the *dvairājya* established in the kingdom of Vidarbha by king Agnimitra, in the play *Mālavikāgnimitra*, act V [1]. The *dvairājya* could be carried one step farther, and one of the half-kingdoms could in its turn be ruled by two joint kings. This is the situation witnessed by a ms. of 135 NS (see below).

On the other side the *dvairājya* described in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, VIII.2, is something different; it denotes a co-rulership by two kings on the throne and "does not involve partition of the kingdom by two rulers such as father and son or two brothers" [2]. This situation is more specially indicated in Nepal by the term *ubhayarājya*. In the present case it is difficult to decide to which type belonged the situation prevailing before Guṇakāmadeva put an end to it [3].

Narendradeva (c. 998–999) *and Udayadeva* (c. 998–1004)

The double rule was revived after Guṇakāmadeva's death, for a span of one or two years only. This situation is evidenced by two documents:

1) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, in the Sa-skya monastery in Tibet. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 100-10-9 Mārggaśira-śukla-divā pūrṇṇamāsyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ śrī-Gaṇḍīgulmaka-nivāsina-suvarṇṇakāra-śrī-Rāṇakasya .... || M.-P.-śrī-Narendradeva-bhaṭṭārakasya śrī-Udayadevayo bhaṭṭārakayo ubhayarājye likhitam-iti.* The place Gaṇḍīgulmaka is mentioned as Gaṇigulmako in an inscription of the year 95 of the Aṃśuvarman era at Patan [5]; it also occurs in doc. 4 of Harṣadeva as the name of a district (*viṣaya*) and in doc. 20 of Ānandadeva as a religious building (*ālaya*). The term *gulma* designates a military outpost [6]. Its location is unknown [7]. The date corresponds to December 6th, 998.

[1] See S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, 187–188.

[2] R. P. Kangle, *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, III, Bombay 1965, 122. See also the earlier discussion by H. K. Deb, "The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* on forms of government", in *IHQ*, 14 (1938), 369–370.

[3] The discussion by Dinesh Raj Pant, "Dvairājya", in *Pūrṇimā*, 30 (2030 VS), 135–138, is inconclusive. More discerning is Dh. Bajracharya, "Madhyakāl-kā śurū-kā kehī abhilekh", in *CNS*, 5/1, (1977), 95–97.

[4] Published by RS, XXIII, 29.

[5] Gnoli, Inscr. LXXII; Dh. Bajracharya, *Licchavikāl-kā abhilekh*, n. 132.

[6] On *gulma* see e.g. D. D. Kosambi, *An introduction to the study of Indian History*, Bombay 1956, 276–278; Dh. Bajracharya, "Licchavikāl-kā śāsanasambandhī pāribhāṣika śabdako vyākhyā", in *Pūrṇimā*, 10 (2033 VS), 10–11.

[7] Its mention in the Aṃś. Era inscriptions as well as in Doc. 20 of Ānandadeva,

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2) Inscription on a gilt bronze plaque of Viṣṇu in *garuḍāsana*, in the Jack Zimmermann collection in New York [1]. Dated *Samvatsare śatatame caturviṃśatikā[dhike] Cait[r]ākhyāsita–dvādaśyāṃ śaśiputra–dine śubham śrīmadUdayadevasya rājye Nepālamaṇḍale śrī–Jiglodgama–viṣaye vidvatsādhujamānvite | koṣam pradadyād garuḍadhvajāya śraddhānvitaḥ śrī–Lṛpan ma...* etc. There was no *saṅkrānti* in Vaiśākha and this caused an additional Pauṣa; as a consequence, this Caitra corresponds to *adhika*–Vaiśākha in the Sūrya–Siddhānta. The date is accordingly verified for Wednesday, April 19th, 1004. Neither the outlying district (*viṣaya*) Jiglodgama nor the donor Lṛpa are known; both names look definitely non–Nepalese.

Both V[1] and VK/VD give to Narendradeva a reign of one year and 6 months. Udayadeva is allowed 5 years and 5 months by V[1] and 6 years by VK/VD. Of course these numbers should be taken concurrently and not in succession; the wording of Doc. 1 proves the existence of a joint rule (*ubhayarājya*), i.e. of a *dvairājya* of the Kauṭilyan type. Both kings are unknown to the later *vaṃśāvalīs* and no event of their reign is related.

Nirbhayadeva (c. 1004–1009) *Rudradeva* (c. 1007–1028) *and Bhojadeva* (c. 1009–1020)

According to VK/VD, Udayadeva was followed by Nirbhayadeva, who reigned 5 years; he is ignored by V[1] and the later *vaṃśāvalīs*. Then VK/VD lists the double rule of Bhojadeva and Rudradeva for 9 years and 7 months. They are unknown to V[1]; the later chronicles mention Bhojadeva only, with a reign of 8 years.

The reigns of these three rulers are covered by seven documents:

1) Inscription in the Bhairava temple in Taumadhi Tol, Bhatgaon [2]. Dated *Samvat* 100–20–5 *Caitra–śukla–triyodaśyāṃ M.–śrī–Nirbhayadeva–vijayarājye śrī–Khvapu... Śivagvalottaratolakavāstavya Jayacatupākana śriyādharadavakaparaka...* The date corresponds to March 26th, 1005.

seem to refer to a place within the Valley. On the other side its character as an outlying disctrit (*viṣaya*) in Doc. 4 of Harṣadeva would place it outside the Valley. The latter theory is supported by Mahesh Raj Pant and Aishvarya Dhar Sharma, *The two earliest copper–plate inscriptions from Nepal* (Nepal Research Centre, Miscellaneous Papers, n. 12), Katmandu 1977, 19–20; and by Dh. Bajracharya, "Madhyakāl–ka śūrukā kehī abhilekh", in *CNS*, 5/1 (1977), 99–100.

1) First mentioned by P. Pal, in *Archives of Asian Art*, 25 (1971/2), 59–60, and *The arts of Nepal*, I, Leiden 1974. 74–79, pl. 30. Published by Dh. Bajracharya, *Op. cit.*, 109.

2) Published in *AS*, 2 (2018 VS), 9. Re–edited by Regmi, III, 2–3; by Dinesh Raj Pant, in *Pūrṇimā*, 30 (2030 VS), 116; and Dh. Bajracharya, in *CNS*, 5/1, 111.

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2) Ms. *Aṣṭsāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā* Cambridge University Library, Add. 866, Colophon [1]: *Abde śate sāṣṭakavimśayute māse śubhe Phālguṇā–śukla–pakṣe somavāre nakṣatra–ramyottarabhadra–saṃjñe | śrī–Nirbhayasya nṛpateḥ surasannibhasya śrī–Rudradeva–vasudhādhipateś–ca ramye | evam dvirājyakam–atodyata* (?) *pātravarge rājye pari × × × kavitavairi saṅghe | śrī–Hlāṃvihāra* (?) *iti kīrttita–kīrttipañja* | The date is irregular. It may correspond either to Monday, February 16th, or to Monday, February 23rd, 1008; but in neither of those days the *nakṣatra* was Uttarabhadra. If, by exception, the year is taken as current, then the date would be verified for Monday, January 31st, 1009.

3) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 2191.1. Colophon [2]: × × × *śukla–trayodaśyām śrīmatBhojadeva–rāje | śrī–Yambukramāyāṃ kulaputra–Mādhavajiva* etc. The year and month are completely lost. Written at Yambu, which was the Newari name of the Northern section of Kathmandu, the Koligrāma of the Licchavi inscriptions [3].

4) Ms. *Prajñāpāramitā*, in private possession at Patan. Colophon [4]: *Śrī–Bāgvatī–tīra–sthānādhivāsinā kulaputropāsakaḥ Nairasiṃhayākasya datapuṇyaṃ .... Samvat 100–30–1 Jyeṣṭha–śukla–dvitīyāyāṃ somadine Pb.–R.–P.–śrī–Bhojadevasya vijayarājye likhitam.* The date is verified for Monday, May 7th, 1011.

5) Inscription on an Umā–Maheśvara image in Tyagal Tol, Patan [5]. It mentions *rājye puṇyamalaṅkṛta–yaśanidhiḥ śrī–Rudradevo nṛpaḥ | sādhu–bhratṛjaputra–dharmmaṇirati–śrī–Bhojadevo 'pi rāt | tāvetau śaśibhāskaropama.* Written *śrī–Lalitākhye pure | atha Tegvalasthānasya .... samvat 100–30–2 Prathamāṣāḍha–śukla–divā trayodaśyāṃ bṛhaspati–dine Maitra* (= Anurādhā) *nakṣatre.* The Mithuna *saṅkrānti* did not fall in Jyeṣṭha, and this caused an intercalary Āṣāḍha. This *prathama*–Āṣāḍha corresponds to *njia*–Jyeṣṭha in the Sūrya–Siddhānta, and the date is verified for the first two hours of Thursday, June 5th, 1012.

6) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1643. Colophon [6]: *Pañcatriṃśādhike 'bde śatatama–praśate* (sic. for *pragate*) *Caittra–māse. himābhe | vikhyāte'smin daśamyān–ditijaripuguror–vāśare saṃprasaste || rājñi śrī–Bhojadeve 'py–amitaguṇagaṇālabd[h]a–śrī–Rudradeve | śrī–Lakṣmīkāmadevair–arijaga[t]kulisair–ardharājye 'pabhukte || ..... Nepālamaṇḍala–svalaṃkāraṇāya samyak śrī–Hlāṃvihāra iti* etc. Foucher, followed by Lévi and Barnett, understood the two verses to mean that Bhojadeva was the successor of Rudradeva, after having gained him by his infinite merits to appoint him as such; and that Lakṣmīkāmadeva reigned in the other half of the kingdom [7]. But the similar text of the Patan inscrip-

1) Published in *CBMC*, 3–4.

2) First published 1958. Barely mentioned in S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, 192.

3) See Gautamavajra Bajracharya, "Yaṅgala, Yambu", in *CNS*, 1/2 (1974), 90–98.

4) Published in Sakya–Vaidya, 2.

5) First mentioned 1958. Published in full in *AS*, 9 (2020 VS), 24–25; re–edited by Regmi, I, 115 and III, 3. On the term *bhrātṛjaputra* see Dinesh Raj Pant, "Bhrātṛjaputra–śabdako arth", in *Pūrṇimā*, 30 (2020 VS), 138–143 (rather inconclusive). The inscription is fully discussed by Dh. Bajracharya, *Op. cit.*, in *CNS*, 5/1 (1977), 113–115.

6) Published in *CBMC*, 151–152.

7) A. Foucher, *Etudes d'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, II, 1, Paris 1900, 17; S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, 190–191; L. D. Barnett ap. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic history of Northern India*, I, Calcutta 1931, 199*n*.

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tion (doc. 5) shows that Rudradeva was king and Bhojadeva was "also" (*api*) king, i.e. associate ruler. I would translate: "Under śrī-Bhojadeva the associate king (*rajñi....'py = api rāṭ* of doc. 2) and Rudradeva who had been gained [by Bhojadeva to appoint him as colleague] through the infinite multitude of his merits; and while Lakṣmīkāmadeva, a thunderbolt to a world of enemies, was enjoying half the kingdom". The name Hlāṃ, perhaps misread for Hloṃ, is perhaps connected with present-day Lhom Hit in Tangal Tol, Patan. There was no Mīna *saṅkrānti* in Caitra, which caused an intercalary Pauṣa. This Caitra corresponding to *nija*-Caitra in the Sūrya-Siddhānta, the date is verified for the last hours of Thursday, March 31st, 1015.

7) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, in the private collection of S. K. Saraswati, Calcutta. Colophon [1]: *Rājā vasu-manu-prathiti* (= 148) *śrīman-Nepālavatsare pragate* | *Māgha-śukla-daśamyāṃ rājña śrī-Rudradevasya.* The date corresponds to January 9th, 1028.

The complicated situation revealed by these documents may be sketched as follows. Nirbhayadeva succeded Udayadeva. In 1005 he was alone on the throne: then about 1008 he took as colleague Rudradeva. Nirbhayadeva died a few years later. Rudradeva's grand-nephew Bhojadeva proclaimed himself king at Kathmandu at some time before 1011; but in 1012 and 1015 he recognized again Rudradeva as his senior partner. Both reigned at Patan, while in 1015 Lakṣmīkāmadeva ruled the other half of the kingdom (perhaps from Kathmandu). Then Bhojadeva disappeared, and in 1028 Rudradeva was reigning alone in his share of the kingdom, which after his death was taken over by Lakṣmīkāmadeva. This reconstruction may look rather complicated, but it is the only possible, unless the dates of Doc. 4 and Doc. 7, which I did not see personally, were misread by their respective editors; but this is rather unlikely.

Lakṣmīkāmadeva (c. 1010–1041)

Lakṣmīkāmadeva may have been a descendant of Guṇakāmadeva, as indicated by the form of his name. Besides his mention in the above quoted colophon of 135 NS, we have four documents of his reign:

1) Ms. *Bhagavatyāsvedāyāyatholabdhatantrarājā*, National Archives, III.359.1. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 100-40-4 Śrāvaṇa-śukla-dvitiyāyāṃ M.-P.-śrī-Lakhimikāmadeva-P.sya vija-*

1) Published (partially?) by S. K. Saraswati, "Nepal in the first half of the 11th century A.D.". in *Proceedings of the 17th Indian History Congress* (*Ahmedabad 1954*), Calcutta 1956, 189.

2) Published in *CPMDN*, II, 5, and in *Pūrṇimā*, 30 (2030 VS), 125.

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yarājye | śrī–Gāṃkūṭālāṃgādhivāsinaḥ Kuraṇākaradattasya pustako 'yam likhitam–iti || The Gāṃkūṭālāṃga is perhaps the present–day Gāṃ Baha in Kathmandu. The date corresponds to July 10th, 1024.

2) Ms. *Śivadharma*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 4077. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 100–50–6 Śrāvaṇa–śukla–dvādaśyāṃ Pb.–M.–P.–śrī–Lakṣmīkāmadevasya vijayarājye śrī–Taittirīyaśālāyādhivāsinā kulaputra–Ratnasiṃhena likhitam śrī–Yambukramāyāṃ śrī–Pañcakramāyām śrī–Sātiścalarke paścimarathyāyāṃ nivāsina rajakarādādharasiṃhena karaṇīyam–pustakam.* Written at Kathmandu North. A Taittirīya–śākhā–goṣṭhī occurs in a Licchavi inscription [2]. The date correspond to July 6th, 1036.

3) Ms. *Kulālikāmnāya*, National Archives, V.877. Colophon [3]: *Aṣṭapañcaśad–adhike sate samvatsare gate | śrī–Lakṣmīkāmadevasya rājye niṣkaṇṭake yute | likhitaṃ Suharṣajīvenedam viśvakarmaprābhena yat* | The date corresponds to 1037/38.

4) Ms. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1683. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 100–50–9 Vaiśākha–śukla–tṛtīyāyāṃ śukra–dine | śrī–Lakṣmīkāmadevasya vijayarājye likhitam–iti* || The name of the place cannot be read any more. The date is verified for Friday, March 30th, 1039.

According to V[1] and VK/VD he reigned 21 years, according to the later chronicles 22 years. If we count from the colophon of 135 NS, in which he appears as partner in the *dvairājya*, down to the colophon of 159 NS, his regnal period is of at least 24 years, i.e. longer than the span allotted to him by the chronicles. But since the last colophon of Rudradeva is dated 1028 and Lakṣmīkāmadeva's colophon of 1038 expressly mentions his unimpeded (*niṣkaṇṭaka*) rule, which seems to hint at the elimination of a rival, we may put the beginning of his co–rulership at about 1010 and of his sole rule at about 1030. And thus I would date his reign, tentatively and with all reserves, in 150–161 N.S., i.e. 1030–1041 A.D. His centre of power during this period seems to have been Kathmandu.

V[1] and VK/VD supply the following item of information on Lakṣmīkāmadeva:

V[1], 23*b*: *tena campaṭapaścāt sahite samvacchrasate dvāṃte rāṣṭraśānti kṛtavān*

VK/VD: *tena hi campaṭapaścāt sahite samvatsare nidhāne rāṣṭra śāntī kṛta*

The word *campaṭa* is unknown, but I tale the meaning to be that the

1) Published in *CSMASB*, V, no. 4084, p. 721.

2) Gnoli, no. LXXXIII; Dh. Bajracharya, *Licchavikāl–kā abhilekh*, no. 139.

3) Published by Regmi, I, 119; better by Dinesh Raj Pant, in *Pūrṇimā*, 30 (2030 VS), 128.

4) Published in *CBMC*, 172; the date in the Devanagari text is printed by mistake as 157.

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king, after a struggle (?), at the end of two centuries (of turmoil) gave peace to the country. It the meaning is correct, then this quotation indicates the unification of the twin kingdoms.

But Lakṣmīkāmadeva's success was not lasting. Only three weeks after his last colophon (doc. 3), a ms. tells another tale:

Ms. *Haṃsayāmala*, National Archives, I.1076.23. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 100–50–9 vaiśākha–kṛṣṇa–di[tiyā]yām | śrī–Khṛmpṛmbrumāyāṃ mahāyuddha–pravartamānakāle duḥstarasaṃsāranistaraṇārthena likhitaṃ* | The date corresponds to April 13th, 1039.

Khṛmpṛm–brumā is identical with Khṛpuṅ and (Mā)khopṛṃ of two inscriptions of Śivadeva (6th century) [2]; it is the old Newari name of Bhatgaon, nowadays written as Khopva or similar spellings. The manuscript was copied "for the sake of bringing peace to an unhappy world, at the time when a great war was raging in Bhatgaon". Whether this great war was a rebellion against Lakṣmīkāmadeva or a struggle for the succession after his death, is more than we can tell.

Vijayadeva (c. 1030–1037)

The next king is called Vijayadeva in V1, Jayadeva in VK/VD and Jayakāmadeva in the later chronicles. No document of his reign is extant.

According to V1 Vijayadeva reigned for 31 years and enjoyed the half–kingdom (*ardharājya*) of Patan. VK/VD give more information: Jayadeva reigned for 20 (VD: 70) years and enjoyed for 10 years the half–kingdom of Patan. The only way to explain this text is that the *ardharājya* ranked below full kingship and that the *dvairājya* consisted of a superior and a subordinate king, only the regnal years of the former being counted. We suggest that at some time (c. 1030) Lakṣmīkāmadeva appointed Vijayadeva as a junior king of Patan, perhaps as successor of Rudradeva. About 1037–38 Vijayadeva was deposed and Lakṣmīkāmadeva ruled for a short time over the whole kingdom, as shown above. After the end of his reign and the civil war of 1039 Vijayadeva reappeared, this time as the colleague of a new king, Bhāskaradeva.

1) First published 1958; re–edited in *Pūrṇimā*, 30 (2030 VS), 129.
2) Gnoli, nos. XXIV and XXV.

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Bhāskaradeva (c. 1039–1048)

According to VK/VD, Bhāskaradeva and Jayadeva reigned together for 7 years and 4 months [1]. V[1] ignores this period of joint rule (of which there is no trace in the colophons) and gives to Bhāskaradeva a reign of three years (13 years according to the later chronicles). Three documents of this reign are extant:

1) Ms. *Catuspīṭhanibandha*, National Archives, III.359.3. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 100–60–5 Śrāvaṇa–śukla–daśamyāṃ śukra–dine | rājye śrī–Bhāskaradevasya | śrī–Guṇakāmadeva–kārite śrī–Padmacakramahāvihāre sthita śākyabhikṣu–Kumāracandrena likhitam.* The Padmacakra–*mahāvihāra* is apparently the Dharmacakra–mahāvihāra (today Taran Bahal) at Kathmandu, the foundation of which is attributed to Guṇakāmadeva. The date is verified for Friday, July 26th, 1045.
2) Inscription on a bronze Śivaliṅga Caturmukha, in the Samuel Eilenberg collection, New York [3]. Composed in the year 166 (1045/6) in the reign of Bhāskaradeva.
3) Ms. *Viṣṇudharma*, National Archives, I.1002.2. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 100–60–7 Āśvaṇi–kṛṣṇa–ṣaṣtamyāṃ budhadine Pb.M.–P.–śrīmad–Bhāskaradevasya rājye śrī–Dakṣiṇapadhimake–vāstavya śrī–Lakṣmīdharadarśanasya deya–dharma* etc. The date cannot be verified, because the *tithi* ended on Tuesday, October 13th, 1047, and not on Wednesday.

It is difficult to draw a clear picture of the situation depicted in the older chronicles, the more so as a co–rulership of Vijayadeva and Bhāskaradeva is not evidenced by colophons or inscriptions. As to the later chronicles, they inform us that Bhāskaradeva was a powerful vassal of Jayadeva; when the latter died childless, the Thākurī clan of Nuvakot elected Bhāskaradeva as his successor [5]. This means a change of dynasty; but there is no trace of such a break in V[1] and VK/VD, who still had registered carefully the advent of new dynasties in the time of Aṃśuvarman. Moreover, Bhāskaradeva was certainly not elected to the throne after Vijayadeva's childless demise, because VK/VD positively prove a period of joint rule. Besides, Bhā-

1) *Bhāskaradeva–Jayadeva–ubhaya–rājavarṣa* 7 *māsa* 4. Here Kirkpatrick, p. 263, misunderstood his source. Out of the word *ubhaya* (both) in the Kaisher ms. he made a king Oodey Deo and inserted him in his royal list, allowing him 7 years and 1 month. This figure was apparently taken away from Bhāskaradeva. The whole passage in Kirkpatrick is rather a mess.

2) Published in *CPMDN*, II, p. 7.

3) Unpublished and unseen. Mentioned by P. Pal, in *Archives of Asian Art*, 25 (1971/2), 61–62.

4) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 29–30.

5) Wright, 157.

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skaradeva was the son of a king, because V[1] and VK narrate that "he sold the crown of his father (*pitṛmāli vikrītaṃ*) [1] and destroyed the gold statue of the god Manohara; for this crime he became blind". In any case, the reasons for admitting a change of dynasty are very weak.

As the three documents of Bhāskaradeva seem to exclude a co-rulership in 1045–1047, I would suggest that Vijayadeva and Bhāskaradeva ruled together for some years after Lakṣmīkāmadeva's end and the civil war, viz. c. 1039–1045. Then Bhāskaradeva remained alone on the throne for about three years (1045–1048).

During this reign Nepal was visited by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, usually called Atīśa, a great teacher of the Buddhist monastic university of Vikramaśīlā, who was invited by the king of Gu-ge to come to Western Tibet in order to rejuvenate the Buddhist faith and learning there. His journey from Vikramaśīlā to Nepal and hence to mÑa'-ris (Western Tibet) is usually known to modern historians through an old article by S.Ch.Das. [2]. His narrative consists of excerpta from three different Tibetan texts [3]. He pieced this material together without marking clearly the passages from each work; as usual with him, the translations are very free and sometimes unreliable. It is therefore advisable to go back to the original texts. The evidence they supply can be summarized as follows.

Atīśa left Vikramaśīlā almost certainly in 1040 [4]. He arrived at the Nepalese frontier, where he found support by the local chiefs and where he received a letter of invitation from the king of Li (Khotan?); but he did not comply with the summons [5]. Then he arrived in 'Ol-k'a of Nepal (it is not clear which part of the country is allu-

1) *VD* has only the words *pitrimauli kṛta* and omits the rest.

2) S. Ch. Das, "Indian Pandits in Tibet", in *Journal of the Buddhist Texts Society*, I (1893), 7–31; also S. Ch. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snows*, Calcutta 1893, 50–76.

3) These are (abridged titles): *rNam t'ar yoṅs grags*, in the *bKa' gdams glegs bam* (dGa'-ldan P'un-ts'ogs-gliṅ edition), 28*a*–144*b*; *rNam t'ar lam yig*, ibid., 144*b*–182*a*; *dPag bsam ljon bzaṅ* (ed. S. Ch. Das), Calcutta 1908. On these works see H. Eimer, *Berichte über das Leben des Atiśa* (*Dīpaṃkarasrijñāna*), Wiesbaden 1977, 105–108, 159–176; criticism on the article of S. Ch. Das, ibid., 26–27.

4) Not all the Tibetan sources agree on the dates of Atīśa's journey; I follow those given in the *Deb t'er sṅon po*: G. Roerich (transl.), *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta 1949–1953, 247.

5) *rNam t'ar lam yig*, 159*b*–161*b*.

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ded to), where he stayed for one month and where a deaf (*'on–pa*) *sthavira* acted as his *dānapati* [1]. Then he took up his residence at the Śiṅ–kun shrine (Svayambhū Nāth), where he found waiting for him the envoys of the royal monk of Gu–ge with the means necessary for his journey, and where he was received with the utmost reverence by the local Pandits and by his own brother Vīryacandra; they seated him on the throne usually reserved for the *mahārāja* (*rgyal–po c'en–po*). He was supplied with every kind of necessities by the *rāja* (*rgyal–po*) of Śiṅ–kun [2]. The K'ri–śoṅ Bhāro of Nepal too came to visit him and invited him to his home [3].

After the demise of his companion rGya brTson–'grus–seṅ–ge, Atīśa spent most of his time at Bal–po rdzoṅ [4]. Then he shifted to Bal–po'i–T'aṅ [5], where he presided over the funeral ceremonies for his dead friend. He was received there by the *mahārāja* (*rgyal–po c'en–po*) of Nepal Grags–pa–mt'a'–yas [6]. The Master presented him with the elephant that had carried him up from India and asked for permission to build a *vihāra* at T'aṅ. The king agreed and furnished him with the means for the undertaking. He also entrusted to him his own son Padma–'od, to whom Atīśa imparted the vows of a novice. Then he returned to Bal–po rdzoṅ along with the Gu–ge envoys [7].

[1] *rNam t'ar rgyas pa*, 56*b*; *rNam t'ar yoṅs grags*, 84*b*. These texts, which represent the earliest and main body of the traditions on Atīśa, have been critically studied by H. Eimer, *rNam thar rgyas pa: Materialien zu einer Biographie des Atiśa* (*Dīpaṃkara-śrījñāna*), 2 vols,. Wiesbaden 1979.

[2] I wonder whether this *rāja*, evidently subordinated to the *mahārāja* of Nepal, would have been Vijayadeva.

[3] *rNam t'ar lam yig*, 161*b*–164*b*; Padma–dkar–po, *C'os–'byuṅ* (ed. Lokesh Chandra), 185*b*.

[4] The name means "castle of Nepal". It appears also in the biography of Mi–la–ras–pa, as the place where the Master met Dharmabodhi. It is the Tibetan name of Nuvakoth. P. Aufschnaiter, "Land and places of Milarepa", in *East and West*, 26 (1976), 179.

[5] The literal meaning of this name is "plain of Nepal". But *t'aṅ* seems to be here a Newari place–name. – The mention of Palpa in this connection by S. Ch. Das. is due to a misunderstanding.

[6] The Sanskrit equivalent of this name would be Anantakīrti or Anantayaśas or the like. It is impossible to find a connection with Bhāskaradeva or with any other royal name in Nepal. Grags–pa–mt'a'–yas occurs only in the *rNam t'ar lam yig*, but not in the main tradition preserved by the *rNam t'ar rgyas pa* and the *rNam t'ar yoṅs grags*; and thus the name stands a chance to be a later invention.

[7] *rNam t'ar lam yig*, 164*b*–167*a*.

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The T'aṅ *vihāra* was built as a double convent, of which the one section was called Rāja *vihāra* and the other, although no name is given, was apparently the T'aṅ *vihāra* proper. Atīśa's foundation is to be identified with the Than Bahil or Vikramaśīlā *mahāvihāra*, on the northern outskirts of Kathmandu [2]. It seems that at present no local tradition connects it with Dīpamkaraśrījñāna; however, the name of Atīśa's mother–convent Vikramaśīlā supports the identification. About 1200 the monastery had as its abbot the famous scholar Vibhūticandra from Jagaddala, a disciple of K'a–c'e Paṇ–c'en (Śākyaśrībhadra) [3]. One generation later it was visited by C'ag Lotsawa C'os–rje–dpal; see later, p. 88.

During his stay in Nepal, which lasted one whole year, Atīśa wrote the *Vimalaratnalekha*, a religious epistle addressed to king Nayapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bihar and Bengal [4]. Early in 1042 he left for Western Tibet. On the whole the "Nepalese" section of his biographies contributes little that is useful to our knowledge of Nepalese events and life in the forties of the 11th century.

Baladeva (c. 1048–1060) *and Yiśadeva* (c. 1048–1049)

According to the chronicles Bhāskaradeva's successor was Baladeva, called Balavantadeva in V[1], who reigned for 12 years. Seven colophons of his reign have come down to us:

1) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Tokyo University Library, n. 49. Colophon [5]:

1) In the *Deb t'er sṅon po* and in Dpa'–bo gTsug–lag, *mK'as pa'i dga' ston*, vol. DA, 12*a*, the name of the monastery is spelt as sT'ā or sTāṃ; both spellings run against Tibetan orthographical rules. In many Tibetan names *ṅ* occurs at an earlier period where we find *m* in later times; see such examples as 'Broṅ/'Brom, 'C'iṅs–pu/mC'ims–pu, mTs'o Ma–p'aṅ/mTso Ma–p'am. H. Eimer, *rNam thar rgyas pa*, 105.

2) See Purnaharsha Bajracharya, "Than Bahil, an ancient centre for Sanskrit studies", in *Indologica Taurinensia*, 7 (1979), 61–64. The *vihāra* seems to go back to the palatial dwellings of some noble family; M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 363.

3) *Yul c'en po ñe ba'i ts'andhoha bal po'i gnas kyi dkar c'ag gaṅs can rna ba'i bdud rtsi*, 17b; published by A. W. Macdonald, "A little–read guide to the holy places of Nepal", in *Kailash*, 3 (1975), 107; translated by the same, "Un guide peu lu des lieux–saints du Népal", in M. Strickmann (ed.), *Tantric and Taoists studies in honour of R. A. Stein*, Bruxelles 1981, 257. On Vibhūticandra see S. Dutt, *Buddhist monks and monasteries in India*, London 1962, 351, 376–379; also *Blue Annals*, 796. For some handwritings of his see *RS*, XXIII, 11–13.

4) *rNam t'ar rgyas pa*, 56*b*–57*a*; *rNam t'ar yoṅs grags*, 84*b*–85*b*.

5) Unpublished. The manuscript is registered in *CSMTUL*.

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Samvat 100–60–9 Vaiśākha–kṛṣṇa–divā saptamyāṃ grāhavape rāja–śrī–Baladeva–Yiśadeva ubhau kāle likhita–samāptam–iti. The date corresponds to Wednesday, April 26th, 1049.

2) Ms. *Brahmayāmala*, National Archives, III.370. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 100–50–2 Māgha–śuklāṣṭamyāṃ ādityadine R.–P.–śrī–Baladeva–rājye śrī–Paśupati–vāstavya śrī–Jayākarajīveṇa Brahmayāmalaṃ nāma śāstraṃ likhitaṃ.* Written at Paśupati Nāth. The date is verified for Sunday, January 12th, 1052.

3) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, National Archives, V.76. Colophon [2]: *Samvatsare śate khyāte trayaḥ saptati saṃyute Pause śukladine ṣaṣṭe Revati budha saṃyute | dīpte śrī–Baladeva–rājavijaye Lakṣmīprabhāmaṇḍale* etc. Pauṣa being *kṣaya* in the Sūrya Siddhānta, our Pauṣa corresponds to Māgha. The date is accordingly verified for Wednesday, December 30th, 1053. The place of copying cannot be identified.

4) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, in private possession, Patan, Colophon [3]: .... *śrī–Yambityuttaraṭolakādhivasinyāḥ paramopāsikāyā Kumudadaikāyā ... samvat a–cu–4 (174) Caitra–kṛṣṇāṣṭamyaṃ | R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Baladevasya vijayarājye likhitamiti.* Written at Kathmandu North. The *tithi* ended on April 3rd, 1054.

5) Ms. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Sa–skya monastery in Tibet. Colophon [4]: *Pūrṇṇe vedma* (or *ṣaḍga*?) *yuto* (?) *varṣe śate śāradasaṅgate | māse mṛṣṭāṅkite* (?) *ramye mṛgāṅkakaramaṇḍane navamyāṃ Rohiṇe ṛkṣe prabhātārkkadine śubhe | kṛtāri–Baladevākhye kṣitiṃ rakṣati kṣmādhipe | vārtta–Kalyāṇaguptena kārite sugatālaye | Māhendramatīvikhyātā buddhadharmāṅkadhāriṇī* || It is a pity that the editor could not make out the year and month more clearly and that the reading is so uncertain. The chronological details, however, are sufficient to reach a definite result. During the years from 1048 (last known date of Bhāskaradeva) to 1063 (first known date of Pradyumnakāmadeva) the combination *śuklapakṣa* – 9th *tithi* – Rohiṇi *nakṣatra* – Sunday can be verified only for two dates: 176 Māgha *śukla* 9; and 179 Māgha *śukla* 9, second half of the day. I prefer the first alternative, because of the tentative reading *ṣaḍga* in the number of the year. Accordingly, the date is verified for Sunday, January 28th, 1056. – The place of copying cannot be identified.

6) Ms. *Svarodayāmaṇḍalopāyikā*, Tokyo University Library, n. 454. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 100–70–6 Bhādrapada–kṛṣṇa–caturthyāṃ R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Baladevasya vijayarājye.* The date corresponds to August 31st, 1056.

7) Ms. *Niśvāsākhyamahātantra*, National Archives, I.279. Colophon [6]: *Aśitiyukte saśate sa[mva]tsare site śubhe Māgha–tṛtīya–vāsare | nṛpānvaye śrī–Baladeva–rājake* etc. The date corresponds to January 14th, 1060.

Surprisingly, Doc. 1 reveals that at the beginning of his reign Baladeva had a colleague called Yiśadeva, a name which I take to

[1] Published in *CPMDN*, II, 60.

[2] Published by Regmi, I, 129.

[3] Published by Sakya–Vaidya, 4.

[4] Published by RS, XXIII, 29.

[5] Unpublished. The manuscript is registrered in *CSMTUL*.

[6] Published in *CPMDN*, I, 11. I did not see this ms. which seems to be no longer extant. I may note here that the alleged second ms. of 180 NS (*Upākarmavidhi*) mentioned in *CPMDN*, I, 56, and *Le Népal*, II, 194 is found in the National Archives, I.1473.4, but is dated 480 NS and contains no name of a king.

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be equivalent to Īśadeva; he is completely unknown to all the chronicles. Apparently he enjoyed a very short reign, and soon Baladeva remained sole ruler. The twelve years allowed him by the chronicles seem to be correct and he may have ruled c. 1048–1060. Incidentally, this was the last instance of a *dvairājya* for some centuries to come.

According to V[1] and VK, Baladeva kept the kingdom in abundance and founded the town of Haripur.

Pradyumnakāmadeva (c. 1060–1066)

Baladeva was succeeded by Pradyumnakāmadeva (V[1]) or Padmadeva (*VK*/*VD* and modern chronicles). The first name is the correct one, as shown by the four colophons belonging to the period of his rule.

1) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, National Archives, III.688. Colophon [1]: last leaf, recto: *Trayādhikāśiti śate gate abde māse ca Jyeṣṭhe kṛṣṇa–pakṣake ekadaśi some prasasya saṃjñake | kṛtāni hanāni prasannamānasaḥ śrī–Śaṅkaradevasya vijaya Nepāla–maṇḍale vijitaśatrusaṃghāte janānāṁ–ca nirākule śrīmanMānadevasya vihāre pravare śate bhikṣu Ravendradeveti ācārya sudhiyottamaḥ yatpustakapratimā* etc. Last leaf, verso: *Samvat 100–80–3 Jeṣṭha × × × R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Pajunakāmadevasya vijayarājye likhitaṃ | ... Mānadeva–mahāvihāre 'dhivāsina ācārya sthavira Ravendradevasya* etc. The Mānadeva–*vihāra* is the Śrīcakravarṇa–*mahāvihāra* (present–day Chuka Baha) in Patan. The first date is verified for Monday, May 26th, 1063.

2) Ms. *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, Cambridge University Library Add. 1684. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 100–80–5 Vaiśākha–śukla–dvādaśamyāṃ | Pb.–śrī–Padyumnakāmadevasya rājye.* The name of the place cannot be read any longer. The date corresponds to April 20th, 1065.

3) Inscription on the socle of a Sūrya image at Thapa Hiti, Patan [3]. Begins: *Pañcāśīti–niyukta–vatsara śataṃ prāptā supūrṇṇaṃ śubhā mūlāditya–yutā vidhiś–ca dhavalāṣāḍha trayodaśya 'pi śrī–Pradyumna–mahīpateś–ca sukhavad–rājyaṃ* etc. The date is verified for the first minutes of Sunday, June 19th, 1065.

4) Ms. *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, Cambridge University Library Add. 2197. Another colophon [4]: *Samvat 100–80–6 Maghā–kṛṣṇa–divādasamyāṃ budhadine | śrīman × × × × × × śrī–Udayāpurādhipati mahāsāvanta śrī–Janarddanajīvasya pravarttamāne | × tradake Yūkekodhaliṭolakādhivāsinī Kulamatī* etc. At the bottom of the page: *śrī–Pradyumnakāmadeva–rāje | śrī–Udayāpure* etc. Udayāpura is an unknown place. The date is verified for Wednesday, January 25th, 1066.

[1] First published 1958.

[2] Published in *CBMC*, 173.

[3] Published in *AS*, 2 (2018 VS), 10; also by Regmi, I, 132.

[4] First published 1958. Mentioned by Bendall, *History*, 22. For the other colophon in Add. 2197, probably coming from another manuscript of the same work, see later p. 49.

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The regnal years of Pradyumnakāmadeva in V[1] cannot be read any more; VK/VD gives him 6 years; the later *vaṃśāvalīs* 11 years. The chronicles merely tell us that "he re-established [the custom of wearing] a crown". On the other side, Doc. 1 affords us an interesting glimpse ot the political situation. It features Śaṅkaradeva, not yet as king, but as a very powerful man, a sort of Commander-in-Chief or regent, victorious in war against the enemies and pacifier of the country. His exact connection with king Pradyumnakāmadeva remains mysterious, and we do not know whether he was a relation of his or not.

Nāgārjunadeva (c. 1066–1069)

The next king in the royal list is Nāgārjunadeva, who ruled for three years, probably 1066–1069. One document of his reign has come down to us:

1) Ms. *Svacchaṇḍalalitabhairava*, National Archives, I.224. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 100–80–8 śrī–mahārājā–Nāgārjunadevasya rājye kulaja–śrī–Mādhavasiṃhasya pustakaṃ lekhaka–kulodbhava–Bhīmasiṃhena likhitam.* The year corresponds to 1067/8.

Absolutely nothing is known of his short rule.

Śaṅkaradeva (c. 1069–1082)

We have five colophons of the next king Śaṅkaradeva:

1) Ms. *Dharmaputrikā*, National Archives, III.393. Colophon [2]: *Navottarāśīti–yute śate 'bde Āṣāḍha–śuklasya tithau tṛtīye | śrī–Śankarākhye jayati kṣitīndre śrī–Yaṅgalasyottaraṭollake yaḥ | dharmāśayaḥ satkulalabdhajanmā guṇāpriyo Rāghavasiṃha–nāmā | jñānaprakāśaṃ Śivadharmaśāstraṃ śubhapratiṣṭham kṛtavān samagraṃ* || Written at Kathmandu, of which Yaṅgala was the southern section, corresponding to the Dakṣiṇakoligrāma of Licchavi times [3]. The date corresponds to May 24th, 1069.
2) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Ṅor monastery in Tibet. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 100–80–9 Bhādrapada* × × *[diva]se śrīmacChaṅkaradeva–rājye śrī–Laṃjuguṅke* (R. Sankrityayana: *Lajaluṅka*) *vāstavya Gaṅgarāṇakena lekhitam–idaṃ* | Laṃjuguṅka is

1) Published by Regmi, I, 133.

2) Partly published in *CPMDN*, I, 92; revised and completed in *CPMDN*, II, 87; re-edited by Yogi Narahari Nath in *Itihās Prakāś*, I, Kathmandu 2012 VS, 159*a*.

3) See G. Bajracharya, "Yaṅgala, Yambu", in *CNS*, 1/2, (1974), 90–98.

4) Published by *RS*, XXI, 33 (with date wrongly transcribed). Checked on a hand-copy made by Professor G. Tucci in 1939.

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almost certainly Lamjung, in the hills between Kathmandu and Pokhra [1]. The date corresponds to August–September 1069.

3) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, A.15. Colophon [2]: *Ekādhika–navatikānugate prayāte samvacchare Tapasi* (= Māgha) *māse tithau daśamyāṃ saṃvarddhamānaśaśtaddayitānvitāyāṃ vacaspatau* × × *Śobhana–yoge yukte śrī–bhūṣaṇe Śaṅkaradeva–saṃjñe vikhyātakīrttau jitavairivṛṇḍe sūryānuyāpravaradaivadevasaṃrājisaṃrakṣite sarvvaloke ..... śreyo 'stu | Samvat 100–90–1 Phāl(a)guna–śukla–daśamyāṃ tithau Rohinī nakṣatre Śobhana–yoge bṛhaspati–vāsare.* There is conflict between the first and the second description of the same date. The solution comes from the chronological calculation: the date cannot be verified for Phālguna, while it is possible for Māgha. It corresponds to Thursday, January 13th, 1071, except for the *yoga*, which ended on January 19th.

4) Ms. *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 3830. Colophon [3]: *Aṣṭānavati–saṃyukte śata–samvati vatsare | kṛṣṇe Śrāvaṇa–pañcamyāṃ vāsare kuja–sāhvaye | śrīmacChaṅkaradevasya rājño vijayaśālinaḥ ..... | śrī–Lalitapure ramye śrī–Mānīglaka–saṃjñake yacchrī–Rāghavanāmnasya vihāre sugatālaye dhanyasthavirabhikṣosya Buddhacandrasya pustakam .... kāyastha–Bhuvanākaraṣena likhitam.* Written at Patan in the Rāghavavihāra. The date is verified for Tuesday, July 31st, 1078.

5) Ms. *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, formerly in the Sa–skya monastery in Tibet, now in the Library of the Nationalities Culture Palace, Peking. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 200–2 Caitra–śukla–divā pūrṇamāsyāṃ | bṛhaspati–dine | Hasta–nakṣatre || Pb.–M.–P.–śrīmat–Śaṅkaradevasya vijayarājye varttamāne | .... śrī–Cakavāṭī–Mahāvihāryaśākyabhikṣuṇi–Yemendranāthāya.....śrī–Indramūlasthānādhivāsī amātya–paramopāsaka–śrī–Guṇākarajiva–Bhallokena svayaṃ likhitam–iti.* The Cakavāṭī monastery is the modern Na Bahal in Tangal Tol, Patan; the area is also known by the name Caka Baha–bahi. Indramūlasthāna is the Indreśvara *tīrtha* near Panaoti, to the East of the valley. The date is verified for Thursday, March 17th, 1082.

The chronicles give to Śaṅkaradeva 17 (VK/VD), 15 (V^1) or 11 (later *vaṃśāvalīs*) years. Actually he reigned for about 13 years (1069–1082). He must have been a ruler of some relief. VK tells us that he made an image of Śaṅkeśvara at Nandiśālā (Naksal, on the south–eastern outskirts of Kathmandu), and completed a temple there. Above all, he kept the country at peace [5].

Vāmadeva (1082–1085)

The quiet enjoyed by Nepal was not very long. According to

1) The identification is due to G. Bajracharya, "Nevārī bhāṣāko Tāmāṅ bhāṣā tathā Limbu bhāṣāsaṃgako sādṛśya", in *Pūrṇimā*, 2 (2021 VS), 44.

2) Published by R. L. Mitra in the preface to his edition of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Calcutta 1888, p. XXI. My own reading mostly agrees with that of A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris 1900, 28.

3) Published in *CSMASB*, I, n. 49, pp. 49–50.

4) Published in RS, XXIII, 28.

5) All these indications are taken up and expanded in the later *vaṃśāvalīs*, which for once seem to be based on reliable materials. Wright, pp. 158–160.

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the later *vaṃśāvalīs* Vāmadeva, a descendant of Aṃśuvarman through a side-line, supported by the Thakurs of Patan and Kathmandu, expelled Śaṅkaradeva and made himself king [1]. No trace of these events is found in VK and V[1], which merely register the reign of Vāmadeva (3 years) without a break in the list. One document of this king is extant.

ms. *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*, Leningrad Public Library. It is a modern copy made on a decayed ancient palm-leaf ms. [2]. Colophon [3]: *Caturmāsādhika-śatadvaye samvatsare śubhe | rājñaḥ śrī-Vāmadeva-vijaye | śrī-Udayapuriya-ramye mahāśāvanta śrī-Nāgārjjunajīvasya rakṣite | tatra sthitaḥ Saugatatvavedī paramopāsaka-śrī-Vajrākarajīva-saṃjñakaiḥ | sulikhyate śāśvata sekanirṇṇayaiḥ | kṛṣṇa-Bhādrapade māse vāre bṛhaspati-prasaṃśite | śubham-astu sarvvadā* || The site of Udayāpura (cf. p. 45) is unknown. The date is impossible as it stands. It says "200 years plus 4 months.... in Bhādrapada"; beside the fact that this way of indicating the date is never used in Nepalese colophons, Bhādrapada is not the 4th, but the 11th month of the year (6th in the Caitrādi years). Thus it is certain that the modern copyist misunderstood the *samvat* of his original. The obvious correction would be *caturdaśādhika-śatadvaye*, i.e. 214; but this is much too late in comparison with the known dates of the next king Harṣadeva. Thus I suggest tentatively the correction *caturvarṣādhika*, which would give 204. The date would thus correspond to Thursday 22nd or Thursday 29th August, 1084.

It seems noteworthy that Vāmadeva does not wear the full royal titles. On the other side, we meet here for the second time a powerful feudal family, that of the Jīvas, *mahāsāmantas* of Udayāpura, a frontier district the location of which remains obscure to this day; we are going to find them again in the troubled period that follows. We may suppose that Vāmadeva was a claimant set up by the Jīvas, but not yet fully established on the throne. His dates may have been c. 1082–1085.

The later chronicles claim that Vāmadeva founded a dynasty. This contention can be in so far accepted, as during the following years his descendants alternated on the throne with those of Śaṅkaradeva.

About this period a inscription in the Saugali Tol, Patan [4], relates the dedication of an image of the Sun god by *śrī-Yaśodeva-bhūnātha-tanayo dharmatatparaḥ śrī-Bāṇadevaḥ*. It is dated *tribhir*

1) Wright, p. 160.

2) Says the scribe: *jirṇbhūta-pracina-tālapatra-pustake dṛṣṭvā 'bhisāriteyaṃ pustakaṃ.*

3) Published by N. Mironov, *Katalog indijskikh rukopisej rossijskoj publičnoj biblioteki*, I, Petrograd 1918, n. 283, pp. 264–265.

4) Published by C. Bendall, *Journey*, 80 (no. V).

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varṣaiḥ samāyukte samvatsara–śatadvayā Vai[śākha śu]kla–saptamyāṃ budhe Puṣyodaye śubhe, which is verified for Wednesday, April 26th, 1083. There is nearness of date and similarity of name with Vāmadeva, and Bendall accepted the identity of the two. But Lévi remarked that Bāṇa is quite different in meaning from Vāma and that there is not a single word in the inscription hinting at a royal status of Bāṇadeva; he concluded that this is a private inscription and that Bāṇadeva must have been a local nobleman [1]. One cannot but agree with Lévi's findings.

Harṣadeva (c. 1085–1098)

The next king was Harṣadeva, of whom five colophons are extant.

1) Ms. *Viṣṇudharma*, National Archives, I.1002.1. Colophon [2]: *Varṣānāndaśa–samyute śatayuge Jyeṣṭhasya māse sitapakṣe śukradine tithau ca navame śrī–Harṣadeva nṛpe | .....śrī–Vinnṛlakṣmyākhyāyāṃ Kulajayā samyak–pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ.* The date is verified for Friday, May 10th, 1090.
2) Ms. *Kubjikāmata*. National Archives, I.1077.4. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 200–10–2 Phālguna–śukla–diva Aśvani–nakṣatre śukradine śrīmad Haraṣadevasya rāje śrī–Phallapviṅga–viṣaye Kosabūtollakādhivāsinā* etc. Written at Pharping. The date is verified for the last hours of Friday, February 13th, 1092.
3) Ms. *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 2197, already mentioned on p. 44. Another colophon [4]: *Varṣāṇam dviśate trayodaśādhigate Caitramāse kṛṣṇapakse trayodaśi | śrīmad–rājā–Harṣadeva āśīna* (?) | *śrī–Lalitakramānagvala–Yacchuṭolkānvasate kulaputrī yadatra puṇyam* etc. Written in the Yachu Tol (south–eastern section of Patan), which conserves this name to the present day. The date corresponds to March 27th, 1093.
4) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpārāmitā*, formerly in the Sa–skya monastery in Tibet, now in the Institute of Tibetology at Gangtok, Sikkim. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 200–10–3 rājñaḥ śrī–Harṣadeva–rāje śrī–Gaṇḍigulma–viṣaye | kulaputra–kāyastha–paṇḍita śrī–Jīvadharaśiṃhasya pustako 'yam–iti* || Gaṇḍigulma occurs also in the colophon of 119 NS (see p. 34); in the present instance it is the headquarters of an outlying district (*viṣaya*). According to M. R. Pant and A. Sharma, p. 20, it should be sought for in the modern Gulmi sub–district. The year corresponds to 1092/3.
5) Ms. *Tattvasadbhāvatantra*, National Archives, V.445. Colophon [6]: *Dviśate samvatsare 'tite saptadaśa–prapuritaḥ | Phālguṇasya śuklasya uttameṣu trayodaśi || tārakā Pūrvva-*

1) S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, 196–197.
2) First published in 1958, although the ms. is listed in *CPMDN*, I, 30. Mentioned in Bendall, *History*, 22.
3) First published 1958.
4) First published 1958, Mentioned by Bendall, *Journey*, 46, and *History*, 22.
5) Published by *RS*, XXIII, 25.
6) Published in *CPMDN*, II, 113; re–edited by Regmi, I, 142.

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phalguṇyāṃ śukragraha–suśobhane | sumūrtte pūjyasatkare siddhihetuvarārcinā || śrī–Nepālasya vijayarājye mahā–śrī–Harṣadeva–rājeṣu | lekhakaḥ śrī–Paśupatisthānāsanno Govarddhanāṅkitaḥ || Written at Paśupati Nāth. The date is verified for Friday, February 27th, 1097.

The chronicles give Harṣadeva 16 (VK/VD), 13 (V^1) or 15 (later *vaṃśāvalīs*) years. *VK* and V^1 enter his name in the following way: *Rāja śrī–Harṣadeva varṣa 16 (13), unaviṃśati saṃvacchare śatadvaye pravartamāne*; and not a word more. This date 219 current cannot refer to the accession, because it is later than all of Harṣadeva's colophons. Most probably it refers to his death; we shall have occasion to find in V^2 several dates, in which the number of the regnal years is followed by the month and day (but not the year) of death. This case is rather different, but still no other interpretation seems plausible.

The chronological data of V^1 are: 219 current = 218 expired; and 218 — 13 = 205; the latter is probably the year in which Vāmadeva's rule ended. Harṣadeva's dates therefore are 1085–1098. As in the case of his predecessor, none of his documents gives him the full royal title; and as our materials seem statistically sufficient, we are justified in supposing that he did not assume it. The reason for this is not apparent, unless we are to assume that these two kings recognized the formal overlordship of some foreign ruler (perhaps of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar?).

It is clear that Harṣadeva's was a weak reign; and indeed it was followed by a period of troubles, during which some feudatories tried to stand forth as independent rulers. This was the case for Rāmadeva of Dhavalaśrotrī, as shown by the following document:

Ms. *Aryoṣṇīṣavijaya–nāma–dhāraṇī*, private ownership in Kathmandu. Colophon [1]: *Mahāsāmantādhipati–mahāsāmanta–śrī–Rāmadevasya vijayarājye | samvat 220 Kārttika–dine 24 Dhavalaśrotryāyaṃ likhiteyaṃ | lekhaka–Kamalapāṇinā* | Written at Dhavalaśrotrī, which was probably in the foothills of the Dhaulagiri range to the west of the Valley [2]. The date corresponds to November 9th, 1099.

The expression *vijayarājye* is typical of independent rule. It seems that after the death of Harṣadeva and during the ensuing troubles Rāmadeva claimed for a moment absolute independence in his do-

[1] First published 1958; re–edited in Sakya–Vaidya, 8.

[2] This was suggested by M. R. Pant and A. D. Sharma, *The two earliest copper–plate inscription from Nepal*, Kathmandu 1977, 22–24. Dhavalaśrotrī cannot be equated with Dhaukhel or Dhulikhel south–east of Banepa, as usually accepted; this was shown by Dh. Bajracharya, in *CNS*, 5/1 (1977), 101.

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main [1]. It should also be remarked that he assumed the same title *mahāsāmantādhipati* which was borne by Nānyadeva of Tirhut before he set up as independent ruler. However, Rāmadeva climbed down from this usurpation soon after, as we shall see presently.

Śivadeva (1098–1126) *and/alias Siṃhadeva* (c. 1100–1122)

After the death of Harṣadeva the old dynasty was revived in the person of Śivadeva. The old chronicles recognize only him as the rightful ruler. Four documents of his reign are extant:

1) Copper-plate inscription of unknown provenience, in private possession in Nepal [2]. Dated *Samvat 200–20–1 Mārgaśira–śukla–daśamyāṃ* | *R.–P.–śrīmat Śivadeva–mahārājai* | *śrī–Rāmadiva–sāmanta–vijayarājye* | *Maṃgvara–viṣaye Jhoṃteśvara–bhaṭārakasya ṭāḍe goṭhi pañcalikenu* etc. Maṃgvara seems to correspond to the modern ethnic name Magar. The date is November 12th or 13th, 1100.
2) Ms. *Jātarūpaṭikā* on *Amarakośa*, Kaisher Library, n. 560. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 200–20–9 Śrāvaṇa–kṛṣṇa–divāṣṭamyāṃ R.–P.–śrī–Śivadevasya vijayarājye likhiteyaṃ ṭikoti.* The date is July 21th or 22nd, 1109.
3) Ms. *Sphoṭikāvaidya*. India Office Library, Hodgson 73Ab. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 200–40 prathamāṣāḍha–kṛṣṇa–dvitiyāyāṃ somadine* | *śrī–R.–P.–śrīmacchivadeva–vijayarājye* (*CSPMIO*: *rājñā*) *likhitam–iti* || *śrī–Lalitakramāyāṃ*(*CSPMIO*: *–brumāyāṃ*) *śrī–Hāṭigvalke 'dhivāsinā vaidya–śrī–Gothiśilasya pustako 'yam–iti* || Written at Patan in or near the *vihāra* called even now Haugal Bahal (Sanskrit name: Hastigṛha–*mahāvihāra*). There was no Kanyā *saṅkrānti* in Bhādrapada and this gives an intercalary Āṣāḍha. The date is verified for Monday, June 14th, 1120.
4) Ms. *Vasudhārādhāraṇī*, Cambridge University Library, Or. 142. Colophon [5]:.... *paramopāsaka Bharudākarāsahasya* .... | *P.–Pb.–M.–śrī–Śivadeva–rājye samvat 200–40–3 Jyeṣṭha* (?) *dive śukla–pratipad likhitam–idaṃ* etc. The date corresponds to April 28th, 1123.

According to V², f. 31*a*, Śivadeva was the son of Śaṅka[ra]-deva, was born in 177 Āṣāḍha *kṛṣṇa pratipad*, Uttarāṣāḍha *nakṣatra*, Śudhi *yoga*, Bṛhaspati (the date is verified for the last hours of Thursday, June 19th, 1057) and lived 69 years. This fixes his death at 246 NS. According to both V¹ and VK/VD he reigned 27 years and 7 months (later *vaṃśāvalīs*: 21 years), and this would place his

1) The hypothesis of a Pāla suzerainty over Rāmadeva, suggested in 1958, must be abandoned; see Regmi, I, 144–148, 156–158.

2) Published by M. T. Pant and A. D. Sharma, *The two earliest copper-plate inscriptions from Nepal*, 1–12.

3) Published by M. T. Pant and A. D. Sharma, *Op. cit.*, 9*n*.

4) Published in *CSPMIO*, II, 1502, no. 8049.

5) First published 1958. Mentioned by Bendall, *History*, 22.

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accession about 218 (expired), exactly the year given by V[1] for the end of Harṣadeva's reign. The chronology fits perfectly in all its niceties.

VK tells us that Śivadeva made donations to Paśupati and built a palace at Kīrti–Bhaktapur, i.e. modern Kirtipur; practically, he founded the town. He coined silver *damma* with his image as a lion (*śrī*–Siṃha); he also struck gold *śivakāṅka* with the legend *śrī–Śivasya* [1].

Doc. 1 shows that the powerful feudatory Rāmadeva gave up his almost sovereign title and recognized the suzerainty of Śivadeva, although he maintained full autonomy (*vijayarājye*) at Dhavalaśrotrī in the Magar district.

According to the early chronicles, the heir–apparent of Śivadeva was *jaurāja* (= *yuvarāja*) Mahendradeva, who in 239 Vaiśākha *śukla pūrṇimā* (April 26th, 1119) inaugurated the large tank Mahendrasāra [1]. According to V[2] he was born in 199 Vaiśākha *pūrṇimā*, Viśākha *nakṣatra*, Dhruva *yoga*, Bṛhaspati; the date is verified for Thursday, April 18th, 1079. He was nominated heir–apparent and used to give away one *dām* every day in charity. Mahendradeva died at the age of 65, i.e. in 264 NS (= 1144 A.D.). But nowhere we are told that he became king.

At this point a serious problem arises. No less than six documents bear evidence to the reign of a ruler called Siṃhadeva, contemporary with Śivadeva. They are:

1) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University, T.1055. Colophon [2]: *M.–P.–Pb.–Para[ma]saugata–śrīmacchrī–Sīhadeva–pravardhamāna–vijayarājye | pañcaviṃśādhika–dviśata–samvatsare abhilikhyamāna yatrāṅkena 'pi 200–20–5 | Āṣāḍha–kṛṣṇa–caturdaśyām–aṅgāra–dine | śrīmacchrī–Kīrttipuṇyamahāvihāre 'dhivāsinā Jinendrabuddhinā likhiteyam* | The Kīrttipuṇya–*mahāvihāra* is the present Nhaika Bahi in Kathmandu. The date is verified for Tuesday, July 11th, 1105.
2) Ms. *Kāvyādarśa*, Ṅor monastery in Tibet. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 231 Aśvani–kṛṣṇa–dvādaśyāṃ Siṃhadeva–rāje*. The date corresponds to October 12th, 1111.

[1] V[1], 24*b*. This coinage will be discussed later in ch. 000.

[2] Published by S. P. Saraswati, "Sihadeva, a forgotten king of Nepal", in *Proceedings of the Tenth Indian History Congress (1947)*, Calcutta 1949, 252. Reproduced by J. Trier, *Ancient paper of Nepal*, Copenhagen 1972, pl. 121. Cf. M. Mookerjee, "Two illuminated manuscripts in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art", in *JISOA*, 15 (1947), 89–99.

[3] First published in 1958 from a hand–copy made by Professor G. Tucci in 1939; it seems to be listed in *RS*, XXI, 38 (n. 114).

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3) Ms. *Siddhasārasaṃhitā*, National Archives, III.803.25. Colophon[1]: *Samvat 20–30–40 Aśvini–śukla–divā navamyāṃ | Pūrvvāṣāḍha–nakṣatre budhadine | Śrīmat–M.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Siṃhadeva–vijayarājye | śrī–Lalitakramāyāṃ śrī–Mānigvala–madhyamaṭolke 'dhivāsinā* etc. Written at Patan. The date is verified for the second half of Wednesday, September 9th, 1114.

4) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 9973. Colophon[2]: *P.–Pb.–M.–Para[ma]saugata–śrīmat–Siṃhadevasya vijayarājye śrī–Udayāpuryāṃ mahāsāvanta* (sic)*–śrī—Piṣu*[3]*jīvasya vijayarājye tasmin cendrakoṣṭakādhivāsino Piṣākara*[4] *candrasya yadatra puṇyaṃ ..... śrī—Lalitakramāyāṃ śrī–Mānigvala–paramaguḍyāṃ kulaputra–Jayacandravarmmanā likhitam–iti | samvat 200–40 Caitra–śukla–pūrṇṇamāsyāṃ aṅgāradine* || Written at Patan. The date is verified for Tuesday, March 16th, 1120.

5) Ms. *Nāmasaṅgīti*, Kaisher Library, n. 118. Colophon[5]: *Parama[bha]ṭṭā[ra]ka–M.–śrī–Sihadeva–rājye samvat 200–40–2 Bhādra–dina 2.* The date corresponds either to August 6th or to August 21st, 1122.

6) Ms. *Mūladevākhyaśāstra*, Žva–lu monastery in Tibet. Colophon[6]: *Samvat 200–× × × ni–śukla–tṛtiyāyāṃ śrīmad–R.–P.–śrī–Siṃhadeva–vijayarājye.* The date cannot be determined.

As it can be seen, the years covered by the colophons of Siṃhadeva (1105–1122) are completely included within the reign of Śivadeva. And this raises the problem whether the two rulers were one and the same, or whether they should be kept apart as two rivals (there is no hint of a *dvairājya* in the documents).

Against the identification there is the weighty argument that we cannot see any reason why a king should choose to appear in the documents under two names; there is no other instance of this sort in the whole of Nepalese history. Another negative element (of no great import) is a statement in the chronicle according to which on 219 Māgha *kṛṣṇa* 8 Mūla–*nakṣatra* (the date seems to be January 17th, 1099; but the *nakṣatra* ended on the 20th) an influential nobleman called Varapāla Bhāro of the Yetha Bahar in Patan brought about an agreement between the two royal families (*mahāprabhutaḥ ubhaya–rājakula udharaṇa samārthaḥ*); he died at the age of 87 (V^2,

1) First published 1958.

2) Published in *CSMASB*, I, 4–5, no. 4. Siṃhadeva is, as far as I know, the only Nepalese king who openly proclaimed his faith in the Buddhist religion (*paramasaugata*). I wonder whether this had any political significance.

3) *CSMASB*: *Yiṣu.*

4) *CSMASB*: *Yiṣākara.*

5) First published 1958; then by Regmi, I, 359.

6) Published by RS, XXIII, 41. Checked on a hand–copy made by Professor G. Tucci in 1939.

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31*a*). It is not clear whether the date refers to his arbitration or to his death. In any case this piece of information fits better in the frame of an agreement between the rivals Śivadeva and Siṃhadeva.

On the other side of the balance sheet we may note some peculiar facts. Although the old chronicle absolutely ignores a reign of Siṃhadeva, four princes, viz. Mahendradeva (the *yuvarāja* of Śivadeva), Ānandadeva, Rudradeva and Aṃrtadeva (who reigned in succession between 1147 and 1178), were the sons of Sīhadeva–*parameśvara* [1], while no son of Śivadeva is mentioned. In the second place, Śivadeva employed on his coins both his (*sva*) device of a lion (*siṃha*) and the device (or legend) of Śiva, and this would be difficult to explain in the case of two different rulers: why should Śivadeva employ the device of this rival? Lastly, local tradition at Kirtipur, as well as well as an inscription of 707 NS (1587 A.D.), praise *śrī*–Siṃhadeva as the founder of the town, a feat which the chronicle attributes, as we have seen, to Śivadeva [2].

Although the fundamental objection of a lack of motive must stand, the balance of evidence seems to be rather in favour of the identification. Until further proofs to the contrary are forthcoming. I am inclined to accept Śivadeva and Siṃhadeva as two names of the same ruler.

Śivadeva/Siṃhadeva apparently had some measure of success in restoring internal peace and the authority of the throne. And yet the position of his feudatories shows the narrow limits of this success. Not only Rāmadeva of Dhavalaśrotrī was half-independent, but the Jīva chiefs of Udayāpura wielded considerable power. They bore the old title of *mahāsāmanta* going back to the times of Aṃśuvarman; but the position of Piṣu Jīva must have been a half–royal one, as shown by the term *vijayarājye* employed by a scribe writing in the royal capital Patan itself. Probably Piṣu Jīva was for some years the real power behind the throne, much as Aṃśuvarman had been in his early years.

1) The date of Mahendradeva's birth raises a small difficulty; he was born in 1079, while the other three sons of Sīhadeva were born in 1099, 1108 and 1113 respectively. An interval of 34 years between the first and the last son is somewhat disturbing, even if we assume that the three kings were issued from a second marriage of Siṃhadeva.

2) The case for the identification has been ably argued by Dh. Bajracharya, "Madhyakālika Nepal-kā ek prakhyāt rāja Śivadeva", in *CNS*, 8, 1 (1980), 207–222.

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Besides, a difficult situation had developped on the southern frontier of the kingdom, where a new and dangerous power was building up. Tirhut (Sanskrit: Mithilā) had come under the sway of the *mahāsāmantādhipati* [1] Nānyadeva. He was a native of Karṇāṭaka (*Karṇāṭakula bhūṣana*), like his contemporary Vijayasena, the founder of the Sena dynasty of Bengal. It seems that this sudden emergence of rulers of southern extraction in Northern India was due to the expeditions of the Cālukya kings Someśvara I (1046–1068) and Vikramāditya VI (1076–1126), of which we know very little. In 1097 [2] Nānyadeva proclaimed himself king, founding the new capital of Simraongarh (in the Nepalese Tarai), which remained the seat of his dynasty till its downfall in 1325 [3].

At some unknown date he invaded Nepal. The later *vaṃśāvalīs* speak of him as a prince of the Karṇāṭaka, who came to the North and in Śaka 811 and NS 9 (889 A.D.) entered Nepal; he defeated the kings Jayadeva Malla of Patan and Ānanda Malla of Bhatgaon and compelled them to flee to Tirhut, whereupon he established his court at Bhatgaon. He introduced the Śaka era into Nepal [4]. All this is a tissue of chronological absurdities (including the names of non-existing kings), which prevent us to take this tale seriously.

[1] This is the title he gives himself in the colophon of a work composed by him: the *Bhāratavārttika*, a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*; M. R. K. Kavi, "King Nānyadeva on music", in *J. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, 1 (1926), 56.

[2] This date is given in a traditional chronogram, occuring in most of the Nepalese chronicles (see Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, 197–199 *n*), but in its correct form found only in VK/VD, in the *Mudita-Kuvalayāśva* (R. Pischel, *Katalog der Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, II, 8) and in the Mithilā tradition as recorded by Pandita Chanda Jha in his edition of Vidyāpati's *Puruṣaparikṣā*, Darbhanga 1810 Śaka, 19. There is a great number of minor variants, but the gist is always that Nānyadeva disposed of kingship (or of the country) in Śaka 1019, Śrāvaṇa *śudi* 7, Svāti *nakṣatra*, a Saturday; the date is verified for Saturday, July 18th, 1097.

[3] On Nānyadeva see K. P. Jayaswal, *Contributions to the history of Mithila*, in *JBORS*, 9 (1923), 300–301, and 10 (1924), 37–46 (where the historical setting is all wrong); R. C. Majumdar, *King Nānyadeva of Tirhut*, in *IHQ*, 7 (1931), 679–689 (759–769); R. K. Choudhary, *Nānyadeva and his contemporaries*, in *Indian History Congress, Proceedings of the Fourteenth Session, (Jaipur 1951)*, Calcutta 1953, 130–134; R. K. Choudhary, *The Karṇāts of Mithilā* (c. 1097–1355 A.D.), in *ABORI*, 35 (1955), 92–98; Upendra Thakur, *History of Mithila*, Darbhanga 1956, 227–245; V. P. N. Sinha, *Mithila under the Karnatas*, Patna 1979, 34–54. The only extant inscription of Nānyadeva's reign is that of his minister Śrīdhara published by K. P. Jayaswal, *Op. cit.*, 303–304. It is undated and gives no historical information of any value.

[4] Wright, 167.

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However, his attacks against Nepal belong to the realm of sober history. A short and much effaced entry in the old chronicle indicates that in 231 Bhādrapada *kṛṣṇa* 7 (August 27th, 1111) one *śrī*–Naramalladeva cut to pieces the Ḍoya, i.e. the people of Tirhut [1]. Naramalla is otherwise unknown; he may have been a local baron.

It is not difficult to find a balance between these conflicting accounts. Nānyadeva *did* raid Nepal and probably succeded in entering for a moment the Valley; but in the end (or on another occasion) he was defeated and thrown back to Tirhut. The evidence of all the contemporary sources is against any of establishment of a lasting suzerainty, not to speak of sovereignty, in Nepal.

And yet these raids made their effects felt during the following centuries. First of all, they seem to have supplied some sort of foundation to the claims by Cālukya rulers of conquests and domination in Nepal. Some inscriptions of Someśvara I, much earlier than the rise of Nānyadeva, put forward these claims. They are repeated by Vikramāditya VI and by Someśvara III (1126–1138). Even successors of the Cālukyas took them up. So did the Kalacuri Bijjala (1156–1168) and the Yādava Bhillama (1185–1191) and Siṅghana (1200–1247); by then it had been reduced to a heraldic device with no contact with the political realities of the time [2]. Possibly Nānyadeva had maintained some kind of formal subordination to the Cālukya, and this supplied a kind of justification for the Cālukya boasts. Still, these claims remind us of the curious fact that the quite isolated name Someśvara (not normally used in Nepal) suddenly appears in the series of the Nepalese kings in the 12th century and seems to bespeak somehow an influence from the Deccan.

Another consequence made itself felt as late as the 17th century. When in 1354 the Karṇāṭa family of Tirhut gained the throne of

1) V², 32*b*–33*a*. The identity of the Ḍoya with the inhabitants of Tirhut has been established once for all by Dh. Bajracharya, "Ḍoyaharu ko hun?", in *Pūrṇimā*, 4 (2021 VS), 20–31.

2) On the problem of the Cālukya claims of suzerainty over Nepal see Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, 198–205, and H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Nothern India*, I, Calcutta 1931, 203–204. Also S. L. Katare, *The Chālukyas of Kalyāni and their political relations with the contemporary northern states*, in *Indian Culture*, 4 (1937–38), 49, who, however, lays too much stress on the Shikarpur inscription n. 118 of 1054 A.D. (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. VII, Bangalore 1902, p. 157), where the mention of Nepal is a mere piece of boasting.

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Bhatgaon through the marriage of its last scion with the heiress of that principality, Nānyadeva was remembered as the founder of the dynasty. And thus the later chronicles, as well as the inscriptions of the Malla kings of the 17th century, turned this purely genealogical accident into a conquest and rule by Nānyadeva in the Valley, for which there is no historical foundation.

Indradeva (c. 1126–1136)

According to V[1] and VK/VD, Śivadeva's successor was Indradeva, who reigned for 12 years; he is unknown to the later chronicles. Six colophons of his are extant:

1) Ms. *Yamāritantramaṇḍalopāyikā*, National Archives, V.85. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 200–40–7 Āṣāḍha–kṛṣṇāṣṭamyāṃ śrīmad–Indradevasya vijayarājye likhitam–iti*. The date corresponds to July 3rd, 1127.
2) Ms. *Nakṣatrajātaka*, India Office Library, n. 2928. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 200–40–8 Phālguṇa–śukla–da[śamyāṃ] ādityadine likhitam–iti R.–P.–śrī–Indradevasya vijayarāje likhitam–iti* | *śrī–Udayāpura–gamana–śrī–Sekādhināma–Cittavajrādhināma* etc. | *śrī–Udayāpurādhipati–mahāsāmanta–śrī–Paiṣānandajivasya kāle likhitam–iti* || The date is verified for Sunday, February 12th, 1128.
3) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, National Archives, V.195. Colophon [3]: *Svasti ekapañca–samāyukta–samvatsara–śatadvayaṃ Pauṣa–māse pravare caturthyāṃ sita tithau Puṣya–nakṣatre bṛhaspativāre rājā–śrī–Indradevasya nṛpateḥ Kīrtimaṇḍale* etc. The date cannot be verified, the *tithi* corresponding to December 20th and the week day and *nakṣatra* to the 18th December, 1130.
4) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, National Archives, V.48. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 200–50–3 Āśuni–śudi–tṛtīyāyāṃ śrī–Nepālamaṇḍale R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Indradevasya vijayarājye śrī–Lalitapura–Mānigvalottare Vṛvihārādhivāsina pravaramahāyānayāyina śrī–Vilocanavaṃśasya yad–atra puṇyaṃ* etc. The Vṛ–*vihāra* is probably the Vṛṣarājavihāra (Newari: Bu Bahal) in Patan. The date corresponds to September 3rd, 1133.
5) Ms. *Cāndravyākaraṇavṛtti*, Žva–lu monastery in Tibet. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 200–50–4 Caitra–śukla–saptamyāṃ śrīmat–R.–P.–Paramaśaiva Indradevasya śrī–Indradevasya vijayarājye likhitam–idam* || The date corresponds to March 18th, 1134.
6) Ms. *Nāmasaṅgīti*, National Archives, v. 166. Colophon [6]: *R.–P.–śrī–Indradevasya vijayarājye samvat 200–50–6 Kārttika–śukla–pañcamyāṃ śrī–Jumalaka–śākyabhikṣu–*

[1] Published by Regmi, I, 167.
[2] Published in *CPSMIO*, II, 1506, n. 8062; cf. p. 831, n. 6414.
[3] Published by Regmi, I, 167.
[4] Published by Regmi, I, 167. Cf. Shankarman Rajabamshi, "Devanagarī lipiko vikās", in *Kailash*, 2 (1974), 48.
[5] Published by *RS*, XXIII, 43. Checked on a hand–copy made by Professor G. Tucci in 1939.
[6] Published by Regmi, I, 167.

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Ratnaguptena likhitaṃ. The ms. was written by a monk native of Jumla, but almost certainly not in Jumla. The date corresponds to October 13th, 1135.

S. Lévi took Indradeva to be the same person as Mahendradeva (Mahā–Indradeva). But the evidence against the identification is overwhelming. V[1] lists in immediate succession *jaurāja* Mahendradeva and his tank, and king Indradeva with his regnal years, as two different persons. V[2] knows of Mahendradeva only as the heir apparent and not as ruler, and we fail to see how it could give full biographical data for him without mentioning the all–important fact that he was king. Also, Indradeva certainly ceased to reign much earlier than NS 264, the date of the death of Mahendradeva. Therefore, Sīhadeva's son Mahendradeva did not reign, and Indradeva was an usurper from another family. We can place his reign in NS 246–256, i.e. in 1126–1136 A.D.

Indradeva was supported by the Jīva chieftains of Udayāpura, who seem therefore to have switched their allegiance to another dynasty, abandoning the descendants of Siṃhadeva; and the latter indeed did not reign for the next twenty years . The position of Paiṣānanda Jīva, in any case, is not so exalted as that of Piṣu Jīva eight years before; Doc. 1 is dated in his time (*kāle*) and not in his reign (*vijayarājye*). And after this we hear nothing further about the Jīva chiefs.

Mānadeva (c. 1136–1140)

The next king was Mānadeva, who reigned 4 years and 7 months according to V[1] and VK/VD and 10 years according to the later *vaṃśāvalīs*. Three documents of his reign are extant:

1) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, Sa–skya monastery in Tibet. Colophon [1]: *Śrīmat R.–P.–śrī–Mānadevasya vijayarājye samvat 200–50–8 Pauṣa–kṛṣṇa–trayodaśyāṃ soma × × × nakṣatre yoga Siddhi Subhānukulena likhita–samāptikṛtaṃ* || The date is verified for Monday, January 10th, 1138.
2) additional note to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā* ms. of NS 135, mentioned above (see p. 36). It contains the following data [2]: *Samvatsare gatavati dvitīye śatasya pañcāsatā parigate navamāñcitena śrī–Kārttike śaśikarārcitapañcame 'hni śrī–Mānadeva–nṛpatirvijaye ca rājye* || The date is verified for Monday, October 10th, 1138.

1) Published by RS, XXIII, 29.
2) Published in *CBMC*, p. 152.

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3) Inscription on a fountain in Brahma Tol. Kathmandu [1]. Samvat 200–50–9 *Bhādrapada–kṛṣṇa–saptamyāṃ* || *śrīmat–R.–P.–Pb.* | *śrī–Mānadevasya vijayarājye* | *śrī–Duniśvaradakṣiṇatolādhivāsina–divaṃgata–pūjanarcano nirmitena tatraiva* etc. The date corresponds to September 16th, 1139.

Mānadeva's relationship with earlier and later rulers is unknown, but probably he belonged to the line of Indradeva. V1 and VK have nothing to say about him. The later *vaṃśāvalīs* maintain that he abdicated in favour of his eldest son and retired to the Cakravihāra (Caka Baha–bahi in Patan). We may place his reign in c. NS 256–260, i.e. 1136–1140 A.D.

Narendradeva (1140–1147).

Mānadeva's successor was Narendradeva, called Narasiṃhadeva by the later chronicles. His position in the genealogy of the dynasty is unknown. Eight colophons of his reign are extant:

1) Ms. *Pratiṣṭhātantra*, National Archives, I.1003.4. Colophon [2]: *Vede manmathabāṇa–naraṇetre* (=254) *vatsare susaṃyāte*| *Phālguṇa–māsa–śukla–ṣaṣṭyāṃ bhṛgu–vāsare śubhage* | *śrīman Narendradeve rājendre rājarāja–sādṛśye* | *Nepāle 'smin guṇavati Paśupatipādāṅka–parivṛte* || *Bhaktagrāma–nivāsī Vaṭaka–Mahīpāla–putra–sambhāro* | *devyāmatābhidhānaṃ pustakam–abhilikhitaṃ bhakticittena* || Written at Bhatgaon. The date is verified for Friday, February 2nd, 1134.

2) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Sanscrit 67. Colophon [3]: *Śrīmat–R.–P.–śrī–Narendradevasya vijayarājye* || *śrī–Lalitabrume śrī Mānigalake* ..... *samvat 200–60–1 Pauṣa–śukla–trayodaśyāṃ so*[*ma*]*dine* [*Mṛ*]*gaśira–nakṣatre* | *yoga–kalyāṇaṃ śubhān kṛtāvalī likhitā samāptā* | Written at Patan. The date is verified for Monday, December 23rd, 1140.

3) Ms. *Mitapadāpañjikā*, National Archives, III.366.4. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 200–60–1 Caitra–kṛṣṇāṣṭamyām–aṅgāradine śrī–Narendradeva–vijayarājye* | *Dakṣiṇavaihārika–bhikṣurācārya–Suvarṇṇabhadreṇa svāparārthāya likhitam–iti* || The Dakṣiṇavihāra is the southern section of Patan. The date is verified for Tuesday, April Ist, 1141.

4) Ms. *Luyīpāsādhanasya ṭikā*, National Archives, V.87. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 200–60–2 Bhādrapada–śukla–dvādaśyāṃ R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Narendradevasya vijayarājye*. The date corresponds to September 3rd, 1142.

5) Ms. *Nāmasaṅgīti*, Sa–skya monastery in Tibet. Colophon [6]: .... *śrī–Kāṣṭamaṇḍape*

1) Published with facsimile by Bendall, *Journey*, 81, n. VI.

2) Published with some mistakes in *CPMDN*, I, 62.

3) Published by J. Filliozat, *Catalogue du fonds sanscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, Paris 1941, 60.

4) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 62, with the wrong date of 271.

5) Published by Regmi, I, 172.

6) Published by RS, XXIII, 39, where the second digit of the date is printed as *cū* (= 70; but 273 is impossible) and the false equivalent 253 is given.

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Kelācchacche Mallanasiṃhasya × × × || *M.–P.–Pb.–śrī–[Na]rendradevasya vijayarājye* || *Samvat 200–60–3 Aśvani–śukla–pūrṇṇāmasāyāṃ śukra–dine.....* || *śrīsyaṃ Brahmamāyāmāti–gvala–pūrvvataḥ Vidyamasthānādhivāsi–vanikaputra–Visudhrajivena likhitaṃ.* Written in Brahma Tol, Kathmandu. The date is verified for the last hours of Friday, September 24th, 1143.

6) Ms. *Harivaṃśa*, National Archives, V. 48. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 200–60–4 Kārttika–śukla–caturthyāṃ R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Narendradevasya vijayarājye.* The date corresponds to October 13th, 1143.

7) Ms. *Saptaśatī Caṇḍī*, Nepal Museum, n. 74. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 200–60–4 Kārttika–śukla–trayodaśyāṃ bṛhaspati–dine R.–P.–Pb.–śrī Narendradevasya vijayarājye saptakuṭumbaja–kulaputra–śrī–śrī–Harṣacandrasya pustakam–idam śākyabhikṣu–Varmanā likhitam.* The date cannot be verified, as the *tithi* corresponds to October 23th 1143, which day was a Saturday and not a Tursday.

8) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, private possession at Patan. Colophon [3]: *Śrī–Yaṅgalakramāyādhivāse* | *deya–dharmo 'yam mahāyānayāyinaḥ paramopasikā Indrabhāvā yasya yad–atra puṇyaṃ* etc. | *śrīman R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Narendradeva–vijayarājye samvat 200–60–5 dvi–Pauṣa–śukla–ekadaśyāṃ śanaiścara Rohiṇī–nakṣatra yogo–Sidvi.* Written in Kathmandu South. There was no *saṅkrānti* in Vaiśākha, which gave an intercalary Pauṣa. *Dvi–*Pauṣa corresponds to Māgha in the Sūrya Siddhānta, and the date is verified for Saturday, January 6th, 1145, with the exception of the Siddha–*yoga*, which ended on January 2nd.

The first of these colophons is not only earlier that all the documents of Mānadeva; it is even earlier than the last colophon of Indradeva. The explanation is found in the wording of the colophon itself. The title (" Narendradeva, head of kings, in a position similar to that of a king of kings ") seems to designate a governor with full powers, governing Bhatgaon on behalf of another ruler, probably Indradeva. As far as we know, this the first appearance of an autonomous administration of Bhatgaon.

Henceforward, when the royal authority is weakened and the unity of Nepal crumbles, it is always Bhatgaon which leads the movement of secession.

VK/VD gives to Narendradeva 6 years and 4 months, V[1] 6 years and 5 months, the later *vaṃśāvalīs* 22 years. Since his successor ascended the throne in Māgha 267, this would place the accession of Narendradeva at the end of 260 NS, i.e. in the autumn of 1140 A.D. Summing up: Narendradeva governed Bhatgaon since at least

1) Published by Regmi, I, 172.

2) Published by Regmi, I, 172.

3) Partly published by Sakya–Vaidya, 12; reproduced by J. Trier, *Ancient paper of Nepal*, Copenhagen 1972, pl. 111.

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1133 and in the period 260–267 NS (1140–1147 A.D.) he ruled the whole country as king. Nothing else is known about him.

Ānandadeva (1147–1167).

Narendradeva was succeeded by Ānandadeva. This is the name given by V1, V2 and the colophons; VK/VD and the later *vaṃśāvalīs* call him Nandadeva.

No less than twenty-four documents of his reign are extant:

1) Ms. *Sarvaprakaraṇasaṅgraha*, Kaisher Library, n. 36. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 200–60–7 prathamāṣāḍha–kṛṣṇapañcamyāṃ Pūrvvabhadra–nakṣatre śukradine* | *śrīmat–R.–P.–śrī Ānandadevasya vijayarājye* | *śrī–Lalitakramāyāṃ* etc. Written in Patan. There was no Kanyā *saṅkrānti* in Bhādrapada, and therefore Āṣāḍha was intercalated. The sate is verified for Friday, Jule 20th, 1147.
2) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 4203. Colophon [2]: *Dṛg–ṛtu–bhujaṅga–yukte vātsare Pauṣamāse śiśirakiraṇavāre paurṇṇamāsyāṃ nṛpendre bhuvamavati–samastāṃ śrīmad–Ānandadeve nikhila–sugatamātuḥ kāritāsyāḥ pratiṣṭhā* || The year must be read (against the rule) from left to right and is 268. The date is irregular; it corresponds to January 7th, 1148, which day however was not a Monday, but a Wednesday.
3) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prājñāpāramitā*, National Archives, V. 3. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 200–70 dvir–Āṣāḍha–kṣṛṇaikadaśyāṃ śrī–Ānandadevasya vijayarājye*. Āṣāḍha was intercalary according to all systems and the date corresponds to July 22nd, 1150.
4) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, National Archives, V.210. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 200–70–2 Vaiśākha–śukla–paurṇamāsyāṃ ādityadine śrī–P.–Pb.–M.–Paramaśaiva–Ānandadeva–pravardhamāna–vijayarājye*. The date is verified for Sunday, April 20th, 1152.
5) Ms. *Vādanyāyaṭikā*, Kun–bde–gliṅ monastery in Lhasa, Tibet. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 200–70–2 Śrāvaṇa–kṛṣṇa–ekādaśyaṃ likhitam mayā* | *R.–P.–Pb.–śrīmad Ānandadeva–pādīya–vijayarājye śubhadine* The date corresponds to July 29th, 1152.
6) final leaf only of a Ms. of the *Catuṣpīṭhamaṇḍalopāyikamantra*, National Archives, III.803.12.25. Colophon [6]: *Samvat 200–70–3 Aśvini–śukla–pratipad–ādityadine śrī–M.–P.–śreyĀnanddadevasya mahāvijayarāje likhitam–iti* || The date is verified for Sunday, September 20th, 1153.
7) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā* (final leaf only), Cambridge University Library, Or. 130. Colophon [7]:

1) First published 1958.
2) Published in *CSMASB*, I, 3–4, no. 3.
3) Published by Regmi, I, 177.
4) Published by Bholanath Paudel, "Ānandadeva, Rudradeva ra Amṛtadeva–ko samaya–mā euṭā bicār", in *Pūrṇimā*, 3 (2021 VS), 21.
5) Published by RS, XXI, 27; also *Dharmakīrti's Vādanyāya*, ed. by Rahula Sankrityayana (Appendix to *JBORS*, XXI and XXII), 143.
6) First published in 1958. Also by Bh. Paudel, *Op. cit.*, 21.
7) First published 1958. Mnetioned by Bendall, *History*, 29.

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Samvat 200–70–5 Caitra–kṛṣṇa–pañcamyāṃ bṛhaspati–dine | *śrīmad–R.–P.–Pb.–śrī Ānandadevasya vijayarāje likhitaṃ varamahāyāyinaḥ śrī–Lalitabrumāyāṃ śrī–Hnogalaṭolke 'dhivāsina* || Hnogal Tol is the same as the Nogalasthāna of Doc. 18 of Jayadharmamalla, in the Sundhara ward in Patan. The date is verified for the second half of Thursday, March 24th, 1155.

8) Ms. *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, National Archives, III.679. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 276 prathamapauṣa–kṛṣṇa–diva caturthyāṃ* | *śryĀnandadevasya vijayarāje likhitam–idaṃ pustakaṃ* || There was no Mīna *saṅkrānti* in Phālguna, and this causes an intercalary Pauṣa. The date corresponds to December 14th, 1155.

9) Ms. *Prāyaścittasamuccaya*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 2833. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 200–70–8 Bhādrapada–māse* | *śrīmacchrī–Nepālābhyantare* | *śrī–Bhaktapure* | *śrī–Ānandadevasya rājye* | *Bhaṭṭa–paṇḍitācārya–śrī–Udayasomasarmmākhyāsya sarvasattvopakāra–kāmasyedaṃ prāyaścittasamuccaya–pustakaṃ kulaputra–śrī–Rājyapālaśila likhitam–iti* || Written at Bhatgaon. The date corresponds to August–September 1158.

10) Ms. *Smṛtimañjarī*, National Archives, I.1647.11. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 200–70–9 Kārttika–māse* | *śrī–Ānandadevasya rājye* | *śrī–Nepalamaṇḍale antare śrī–Bhaktapurādhivāsino* etc. Written at Bhatgaon. The date corresponds to October–November 1158.

11) Ms. *Pratiṣṭhātantra*, National Archives, I.84. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 200–70–9 Kārttika–śukla–aṣṭamyāṃ śukradine R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śryĀnandadeva–nṛpatau likhitam.* The date is verified for Friday, October 31st, 1158.

12) Ms. *Svamalaśāstra*, Kaisher Library, n. 539. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 200–70–9 Bhādrapada–kṛṣṇāṣṭamyāṃ ādityadine P.–Pb.–R.–P.–śrīmadĀnandadevasya vijayarājye likhitam–idam.* The date is verified for Sunday, September 6th, 1159.

13) Ms. *Kulālikāmnāya*, National Archives, V.876. Colophon [6]: *Svasti samvat 200–80 Pauṣa–kṛṣṇa–caturdaśyāṃ śrī–Kvapvaṃbrumāyāṃ śrī–Canagalaṭolake śrī Ānandadevasya rājye.* Written at Bhatgaon. The date corresponds to January 9th, 1160.

14) Inscription on the outer wall of Batuka Bhairava in Tundi Khel, Patan [7]. Dated: *Samvacchrayuge yāte candra–va[su]* [8]*–samanvite* | *Vaiśākha–śukle Rohiṇyāṃ tṛtīyāyāṃ guror dine* || *rājye śryĀnandadevasya* etc. The date, if correctly read, is verified for Thursday, March 30th, 1161.

15) Ms. *Saptaśatī*, National Archives, III.360.2. Colophon [9]: *Samvat 282 Phālguna–śukla–caturthyāṃ somavāre* | *śrīman–M.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Ānandadeva–vijayarājye likhitam* || The date is verified for Monday, February 19th, 1162.

1) First published 1958. Also by Bh. Paudel, *Op. cit.*, 21.

2) First published 1958. Summarized by Bendall, "Notes on a collection of ms. obtained by Dr. Gimlette", in *JRAS*, 1888, 551, n. 111. Cf. Bendall, *History*, 23.

3) First published 1958.

4) Published by Regmi, I, 177.

5) First published 1958.

6) Published by Regmi, I, 177.

7) Published in *AS*, 2 (2018 VS), 15, and re–edited with some omissions by Regmi, III, 6.

8) This damaged *akṣara* was restorad as *hni* both in *AS* and by Debiprasad Bhandari, in *Pūrṇimā*, 1 (2021 VS), 8*n*; but this is impossible for chronological reasons.

9) Published in *CPMDN*, II, 19.

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16) Copper-plate inscription in private possession in Nepal[1]. Dated: *Samvat 200-80-2 Mārggaśira-śukla-pūrṇṇamasyāṃ Rohiṇiyaṅgāra-dine || R.-P.-Pb.-śrī-Nepālādhipati-śrīmadĀnandadevasya vijayarājye | śrī-Panuṃga-viṣayādhipati-mahāsāmanta-śrīmadRahasyadivasya pravartamānakāle.....śri-Jhoṃṭeśvara-bhaṭārakasya chatrake.* Since in 1100 the temple of Jhoṃṭeśvara was included in the Maṃgvara *viṣaya*, the Panuṃga *viṣaya* was either synonimous or contiguous with Maṃgvara, and therefore it was situated in the Magar country. The date can be verified only if the year is taken (exceptionally) as a current one; it is Tuesday, November 15th, 1160[2].

17) Pillar inscription on the gate of the Tilamādhava temple in Taumadhi Tol, Bhatgaon[3]. Written in verse during the reign of Ānandadeva, who is given a long string of poetical titles, and dated *samāśatadvaye prāpte vasu-vahni-samāyute | kṛṣṇāṣṭamyāṃ kṛtā Jyeṣṭhe praśaste somavāsare.* The date is verified for Monday 27th, 1163.

18) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, National Archives, III.713. Colophon[4]: *Śrī-M.-P.-Pb.-śrīmad-Ānandadevasya vijayarājye | samvat 200-80-4 Māgha-śukla-divā 'ṣṭamyāṃ āditya-dine likhita-samāpti-kṛtam-iti* || There was no Vṛṣabha *saṅkrānti* in Vaiśākha, and this causes an intercalary Pauṣa. Therefore, the Māgha of this colophon corresponds to Phālguna in the Sūrya Siddhānta, and the date is verified for Sunday, February 2nd, 1164.

19) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 2190. Colophon[5]: *Yāte 'bde madanāstra-nāga-nayane (=285) māse site Phālgune saptamyāṃ bhṛguvāsare.... śryĀnandaḥ sumahipatir-guṇavidhiḥ proḍhapratāpānalo rāje tasya mate kalaṅka × × te sarvvaiḥ janaiḥ saṃstute | jāto 'yam-pravarāgraśuddha-hṛdayaḥ śrī-Gaṇḍigulmālaye buddhopāsaka-saṃjñanānanilaye lakṣyālaye dharmminā* etc. Written at Gaṇḍigulma, on which see above pp. 33 and 50. The date is verified for Friday, February 19th, 1165.

20) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, Cambridge University Library Add. 1693. Colophon[6]: *Samvat 200-80-5 Śrāvaṇa-śuklāṣṭamyāmādityadine | śrīmad-Ānandadevasya vijayarājye || likhitedaṃ śri-Mambūkrayāṃ Vantrāṇḍullake śri-Dharmacakra-mahāvihārādhivāsina-śākyabhikṣu-Mañjuśryeṇeti || śrī-Phānapiṅga[7]-viṣayādhivāsina Vuḍaubhrāvai-nāmacheyasya* etc. Mambūkrayāṃ is of course misspelt for Yambukramāyāṃ, then the usual name for Kathmandu North. The Dharmacakra-*vihāra* seems to be the modern Yotkha Baha. Phānapiṅga is Pharping. The date is verified for Sunday, July 18th, 1165.

21) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, National Archives, III.803.23. Colophon[8]: *Sam-*

1) Published by M. R. Pant and A. D. Sharma, *The two earliest copper-plate inscriptions from Nepal*, 26–31.

2) Cf. also C. Vogel, "On the exact dates of the newly-found copper-plate inscriptions of Śivadeva and Ānandadeva", in *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 12 (1978), 253–254.

3) Published in *AS*, 2 (2018 VS), 10–11. Re-edited by Regmi, III, 6–7, and by Shankarman Rajbamshi, *Bhaktapur śilalekh śucī*, Kathmandu 2020 VS, 5.

4) Partly published by Bendall, *History*, 23.

5) Published in R. L. Mitra's preface to his edition of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, Calcutta 1888, xxiv. Cf. Bendall, *History*, 23.

6) Published in *CMBC*, 182.

7) *CBMC* has wrongly: *Dhānapiṅga*.

8) First published 1958. Barely mentioned, without details and with an incorrect date, in *CPMDN*, II, 249.

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vat 200–80–6 Phālguna–śuklāṣṭamyān–nispādita–pratiṣṭhāṃka × × × [*paramabha*]*ṭṭāraka–paramaśaiva–M.–śrīmad–Ānandadeva–pravarddhamāna–kalyāṇa–vijayarājye* || The date corresponds to February 9th, 1166.

22) Ms. *Gaṇḍavyūha*, Royal Asiatic Society, Hodgson Collection. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 286 Phālguna–śudi–ekādaśyaṃ ādityavāre* | *M.–śrīmad Ānandadevasya vijayarājye* || The date is irregular; the *tithi* ended on February 12th, 1166, which was, however, a Saturday and not a Sunday.

23) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Om Bahal in Patan. Colophon [2]: *ŚrīmadĀnandadevasya vijayarājye samvat 287 Kārttika–śudi 2 likhitam–idam rājaputra–Śrīdhareneti*. The date corresponds to October 27th, 1166.

23) Ms. *Kurukullākalpa*, Cambridge University Library Add. 1691.2. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 2* × × *Kārttika–śukla–pañcamyāṃ śaniścaradine śryĀ*[*nandadevasya*] *pravardhamāna–vijayarājye likhitam–iti* || The last two figures for the years are now lost; but the original owner, Dr. Wright, read them as 299. This is doubly impossible, because the date cannot be verified for that year and because it falls outside the limits of the reign of Ānandadeva (the restoration of the royal name is certain). The date may be verified for any of the following years: 270, 273, 277, 280, 287 NS, and may therefore correspond to Saturday, October 8th, 1149; October 4th, 1152; October 20th, 1156; October 17th, 1159; November 5th, 1166.

Ānandadeva was born in 219 Vaiśākha *kṛṣṇa* 5th, Uttarāṣāḍha *nakṣatra*, as the son of Sīhadeva (i.e. Siṃhadeva)[4]. There was no Vṛṣabha *saṅkrānti* in Vaiśākha, and this gives an intercalary Pauṣa. This Vaiśākha corresponds therefore to *nija*–Vaiśākha of the Sūrya Siddhānta, and the date is verified for May 11th, 1099. Ānandadeva lived for 68 years, i.e. till 1167.

The accession of Ānandadeva meant the triumph of the claims of the family of Siṃhadeva, which had been ousted from the throne 20 years before. Siṃhadeva's rightful heir Mahendradeva never reigned. His rights were inherited by the eldest of his three brothers (or rather: half–brothers). It seems that Ānandadeva's position during the reign of Narendradeva was comparatively secure and that he occupied a respected place at court. This is implied by the text of a long inscription on a stele preserved in the Nepal Museum, Kathmandu [5]. It is a *praśāsti* on the spiritual activity of some Śaiva masters of the

1) Partly published by E. B. Cowell and J. E. Eggeling, "Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Mss. in possession of the Royal Asiatic Society (Hodgson Collection)", in *JRAS*, 1876, 3–4, n. 2. Date completed by Bendall, *History*, 23.

2) Published by Regmi, I, 178.

3) Published in *CBMC*, 179.

4) V², 31*b*.

5) Published by Regmi, III, 13–16.

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Śaṅkara school who had migrated from South India to Nepal and had settled at Paśupati Nath. Relevant for our purpose are ll. 25–28:

asyaṃ śrī–Raghuvaṃśamauktikamaṇi .... nandana sāṃdra–śaṃdra huvānvitori madhurairĀnandadevaḥ karaiḥ | uccaiḥ śaktidharaḥ kumārapadavī prāpto 'pi tair dikṣito .... rīyamahimā prāya .... tmeśvarīn | śive ḍarjunasapaḥ prekṣa .... guṇisteṣu guṇapriyaḥ | bhaktimarjanadaṃ va .... śviva | Vasantadevo vijñānīdhīmān Someśvaras–tathā | Yaśomallaś–ca tair–eva kumāra dikṣitā amī.

On l.40 a fragment of the date seems to be preserved: *haste ṣād dvi*, i.e. 262 (1142 A.D.).

This means that Ānandadeva and *yuvarāja* Mahendradeva's two sons Vasantadeva and Someśvaradeva were initiated by the Śaṅkara teachers; all of them are given the title of princes (*kumāra*). As this happened under the reign of Narendradeva (although the name of the king does not appear in the undamaged portions of the inscription), it stands to reason that they enjoyed an exalted status; we may suppose that the accession of Ānandadeva some years later took place peacefully.

Incidentally, the modern chronicles have preserved a tradition to the effect that Śaṅkara had come to Nepal to suppress the impious practices of the Buddhist monks and to convert them by force to Hinduism; the event is placed in the hoariest times, under king Vṛkṣadeva who is supposed to have lived in the pre–Licchavi period [1]. The Śaṅkara of this tradition is said to have been the last of seven incarnation of masters bearing this name. If we take is to mean that he was actually the seventh successor of the historical Śaṅkara (788–820), we could even hazard the supposition that one of the Śaṅkarācārya of Śṛṅgerī Māth in Mysore, the main seat of the Śaṅkara school, paid a visit to Nepal. But the tradition is too late and devoid of authority to support such a hypothesis.

That the coronation of Ānandadeva meant something special, the beginning of a new regime, is hinted at by the old chronicle: "On the first day of the dark half of Māgha in the year 267 (i.e. January 19th, 1147), on a lucky day, the supreme kingship was obtained. In all the territory of Nepal, the guardian of the earth, he who opposes

1) Wright, 70–71; B. C. Hasrat, *History of Nepal*, 38–40.

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the destruction of the subjects and who is perfectly virtuous according to the *śāstras* and the *tantras* (i.e. the law–books) the lord (*prabhu*) Śrī Nandadeva. King Ānandadeva, 20 years " [1].

Still, not everything was plain sailing during the first years of his rule. It appears that he did not fully control his feudatories, some of whom chose to ignore his sovereign rights. This is what appears from the following document:

Ms. *Kubjikāmata*, National Archives, n. ??. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 200–70 Śrāvaṇa–kṛṣṇa–daśamyāṃ śukradine śrī–Pannagaviṣayādhipati śrī–mahāsāmanta–Haṃsadevasya vijayarājye Yupaṭolakādhivāsi śiro śrī–kulaputrasya Phulaṅa Nāyakasya dharmārthena likhitam.* The date is verified for the last hours of Friday, August 18th, 1150. Pannaga is clearly identical with the Panuṃga–*viṣaya* of Doc. 16 [3] and Haṃsadeva was apparently the predecessor of Rahasyadeva of that inscription.

The term *vijayarājye* indicates independent rule, at least locally in that out–of–the–way district. However, this case remains isolated, and soon the king re–asserted his paramountcy over the whole country.

Ānandadeva, who ascended the throne in 267 and died in 287, is said to have reigned for 20 years according to VK/VD and V[1] (31 years according to the later *vaṃśāvalīs*). This number agrees perfectly with the dates of the colophons, which range from 267 to 286. And thus it is certain that Ānandadeva reigned from Māgha 267 to 287, i.e. from January 1147 to 1167.

The old chronicles credit this king with the foundation of the temple and of two god images in the Śivagal Tol at Bhatgaon. Even more important, he laid the foundations of the Bhatgaon royal palace [4]. In the early chronicles this building is usually called Tipura, a name apparently connected with the goddess Tripurasundarī, whose temple in the Tibukche Tol is now considered as the religious centre of the town [5]. According to a recent theory, the first Tipura palace was

1) V[1], 24*b*–25*a*. Practically the same text in VK.

2) Published by Regmi, I, 178.

3) On the identification see M. R. Pant and A. D. Sharma, *Op. cit.*, 30.

4) V[1], 25*a*; VK, 6.

5) B. Kölver, "A ritual map from Nepal", in *Folia Rara* (*Festschrift Wolfgang Voigt*), Wiesbaden 1976, 69 and 78–79; A. W. Macdonald and A. Vergati Stahl, *Newar Art*, Warminster 1979, 83. On the goddess Tripurasundarī see G. Tucci, "Note indolo-

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situated in Tacapol Tol, in the eastern portion of the town, until Jayayakṣamalla built the present palace in Taumadhi Tol. [1] This is possible, but no actual proof has been brought forward upto now. Henceforward Bhatgaon became a secondary residence of the kings, although the capital remained at Patan for many years to come.

The chronicles also say that the king built the golden *praṇālī* (water place) near the palace (*rājakula*; of Bhatgaon?), and that he allowed freedom of buying and selling real estates to the great feudatories (*mahāmaṇḍalika*), the great officers (*mahāpātra*), the chiefs (*pramukha*), all the subjects etc. of Nepal, with their sons and grandsons etc.

Ānandadeva, accepted with such great expectations by his subiects, had indeed a long, peaceful and prosperous reign. It was, however, only an interval of respite in an age of turmoil and of disunity. The crown remained in his family, but the glory of the "Thākurīs" vanished and flickered out after him. Kings followed each other on the throne in rapid succession, and soon civil war broke out and ushered in a long period of strife, which ended only with the downfall of the old dynasty and the rise of the Mallas.

Rudradeva (1167–1175).

Ānandadeva was not succeded by one of his sons (Vasantadeva and Someśvaradeva), but by his younger brother Rudradeva. Eleven documents of his reign are known:

1) Fragmentary inscription in the Vajrayoginī temple at Sankhu [2]. Begins: *Samvat 200–80–8 Phālguṇa–kṛṣṇāṣṭamyāṃ srī–Bhaga.... kādi.... śrī–Rudradevasya vijayarājye* etc. The date corresponds to May 4th, 1168.

2) Ms. *Kālottaratantra*, National Archives, IV.206. Colophon [3]: *Samvatsare 289 Pauṣya–śukla–daśamyāṃ budhadine | R.–P.–śrī–Rudradeva–rājye śrī–Yaṃgala–dakṣiṇaṭolake*

giche", in *RSO*, 12 (1929/30), 406–427 (= *Opera Minora*, Rome 1971, 255–275). For other possible interpretations see M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 125*a*.

1) N. Gutschow and B. Kölver, *Ordered space and functions in a town of Nepal*, Wiesbaden 1975, 16; N. Gutschow, "The urban context of the stūpa in Bhaktapur, Nepal", in A. L. Dallapiccola (ed.), *The stūpa: its religious, historical and architectural significance*, Wiesbaden 1981, 127. Accepted by A. W. Macdonald and A. Vergati Stahl, *Op. cit.*, 111. But see Doc. 2 of Jayajyotirmalla.

2) Published in *AS*, 2 (2018 VS), 12; re-edited in Regmi, III, 7.

3) First published 1958.

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'dhivāsina etc. Written at Kathmandu North. The date is verified for Wednesday, December 11th, 1168.

3) Ms. *Śivadharmaśāstra*, National Archives, I.1075.7. Colophon [1]: *Ākāśa–graha–hasta (= 290)–saṅgini–śate Nepālasamvatsare Pauṣamāse tithau ca pañcadaśame śukla–ravevāsare | kīrttiṃ kṛttibhir–astu bhadrakiraṇe śrī–Rudradeva–nṛpe śrī–Rāmāhvayā lekhitam* || The date is verified for Sunday, January 4th, 1170.

4) Kumbheshvar temple inscription at Patan [2]. Begins: *Samvat 200–90–1 Kārttika–śuklāṣṭamyāṃ R.–P.–rājā–śrī–Rudradevasya jagadānandakārinaḥ* etc. The date corresponds to October 19th, 1170.

5) Ms. *Vajraḍākamahātantra*, Tokyo University Library, n. 343. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 200–90–1 Phālguṇa–paurṇṇamasyāṃ | ādityadine | R.–P.–Pb.–śrīmad–Rudradevasya vijayarājye likhitaṃ idaṃ pustakam–iti.* The date is verified for Sunday, February 21st, 1171.

6) Ms. *Yogasārasamuccaya*, National Archives, V.724. Colophon [4]: *Samvat śatadvayayate navamyāṃ–ekasamāyute ekadaśyāṃ śukla–Jyeṣṭhamāse Citra–tithau yukte mṛtastyAnaṅgamallasya taddineṣu vijānita rājñaḥ śrī–Rudradevasya sthāna–Bhaktāpurīvare vaidya–Govindaśilena satvānām–hitahetuṇā likhitaṃ.* The date is verified for May 17th, 1171.

7) Inscription on a fountain in Bala Tol, Patan [5]. Begins: *Abde yāti bhuja–grahākṣiguṇite* (= 292) *māse tathā Kārttike Rudrāhve nṛpatau ca śasati bhuvaṃ.* The date corresponds to October 1171.

8) Inscription on a fountain in Brahma Tol, Kathmandu [6]. Begins: *Samvat 200–90–2 Jyeṣṭha–pūrṇamāsyāṃ śrī–R.–Rudradevasya vijayarājye* etc. The month is *nija*–Jyeṣṭha in the Sūrya Siddhānta. The date is June 8th, 1172.

9) Ms. *Dharmasamuccaya*, National Archives, V.153. Colophon [7]: *Samvat 293 Vaiśākha–kṛṣṇa–caturthyāṃ rājñaḥ śrīmadRudradevasya vijayarājye | svaparārthahetoḥ śrīmacCitravihārāvasthita–bhikṣu Ajitaśrijñānena svayam–eva lekhi Dharmasamuccaya–pustakam–idam–iti.* As shown by Doc. 12 of Jayārjunadeva, the Citravihāra was in Patan. The date corresponds to May 3rd, 1173.

10) Ms. *Piṅgalāmata*, National Archives, III.376.A. Colophon [8]: *Samvat 200–90–4 Caitra–śukla–pūrṇṇimāsyāṃ somadine Uttaraphalguṇa–nakṣatre | śrī–P.–Pb.–M.–śrīmadRudradevasya vijayarājye.* The date is completely irregular; the full moon of Caitra ended on March 20th, 1174, the Uttaraphalguṇa–*nakṣatra* ended on March 17th, and Monday was on the 19th.

11) Ms. *Bhagavatyāḥ Prajñāpāramitāyāḥ Ratnaguṇasañcayagāthā*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 10736. Colophon [9]: *M.–śrī–Rudradevasya rājye | Samvat 295 Agrahaṇa (Agra-*

[1] First published 1958.

[2] Published in *AS*, 2 (2018 VS), 12; re–edited by Regmi, III, 7.

[3] Unpublished. The ms. is registered in *CSMTUL*.

[4] Published by Regmi, I, 182.

[5] Published in *AS*, 2 (2018 VS), 13; re–edited by Regmi, III, 8–9.

[6] Published in *AS*, 9 (2020 VS), 25, and in *Pūrṇimā*, 2 (2021 VS), 26. Regmi, I, 182 and III, 8, reads the date as 291.

[7] Published by S. Lévi, "Notes indiennes", in *J.As.* 1925, I, 35–36.

[8] Published in *CPMDN*, II, 69.

[9] Published in *CSMASB*, I, 26–27, n. 28. On the date see C. Vogel, "On the date of the Calcutta manuscript of the *Ratnaguṇa–saṃcayagāthā*", in *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 10 (1976), 675–676.

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hāyaṇa = Mārgaśira) pūrṇamāsyāṃ ādityadine likhāpitam. The date is verified for Sunday, November 10th, 1174.

According to VK/VD the coronation (*puṣyābhiṣeka*) of Rudradeva took place in 267 Pauṣa *kṛṣṇa* 13, *śukra*. The date is impossible, as it is too early. So 267 must be a mistake for 287 and the date is verified for Friday, January 20th, 1167. The chronicle remarks that during the ceremony there was cold and rain.

The word *puṣyābhiṣeka*, of fairly frequent occurrence during the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, refers to an old custom, according to which the coronation of a king designated as such by his predecessor should be performed in a period dominated by the Puṣya *nakṣatra*. Later it became independent of any fixed period; it was, however, understood that the ceremony was to be carried out one year after the death of the predecessor. Apparently not even this second limitation was observed in Nepal. Moreover, *puṣyābhiṣeka* is often confused, both graphically and semantically, with the similar term *puṣpābhiṣeka*, used with the same meaning [1]. In medieval Nepal the word assumed a somewhat technical connotation; it has been rightly remarked that it is pointedly used in VBd when the new ruler was not the son of the deceased [2]. This characterizes the rule of succession followed during this period, which will be discussed later (see Chapter VIII, B).

Rudradeva was born as the son of Sīhadeva (and therefore brother of Ānandadeva) in 228 Phālguṇa *śukla* 13, Revatī *nakṣatra* [3]. The date is irregular; the *tithi* ended on Febraury 26th, 1108, while the *nakṣatra* ended on the 16th. The same text also says that Rudradeva lived 67 years, which would place his death in 295. V1 and VD allow him 8 years and 1 month of reign, VK 80 years (a peculiar mistake!) and 1 month, VW 7 years and VV 19 years. The figures of the early chronicles agree with the dates of birth, accession and death, as well as with the dates in the colophons. We may thus be certain that Rudradeva reigned 287–295 NS, i.e. 1167–1175 A.D.

1) See on this subject M. R. Pant, "Puṣyābhiṣeka", in *Pūrṇimā*, 33 (2032 VS), 13–27; revised English translation in *JNRS*, I (1977), 93–109.

2) Th. Manandhar, "Nepal in the early medieval period: gleanings from the Bendall *vaṃśāvali*", in *JNRS*, 1 (1977), 83.

3) V2, 31*b*, The text is nearly illegible.

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The older chronicles have nothing to say about Rudradeva. According to the modern *vaṃśāvalīs* he entrusted the government to his son, became a Buddhist monk and dedicated himself to "acquiring a knowledge of the elements"[1]. This may or may not be historically true; but in any case it must be remarked that Rudradeva was *not* succeded by his son Viśākhadeva (b. 1156 d. 1182)[2].

The king had ascended the throne at an advanced age. There is nothing to show that his accession was contested or that his rule was troubled, and thus we may suppose that his was a comparatively peaceful reign.

Amṛtadeva (1175–1178)

Six documents belong to the reign of the next king Amṛtadeva (Mitradeva for the later chronicles):

1) Ms. *Kulālikāmnāya*, Kaisher Library, n. 33. Colophon[3]: *Samvat 200–90 Māgha–śukla–dvitīyāyāṃ ravidine, R.–P.–śrī–Amṛtadevasya vijayarājye.* The date, although perfectly legible and clear, seems to be wrong; it is too early and cannot be verified. It appears that the scribe has inadvertently left out the last digit. The only day in the years after 295 NS for which this date be verified is 298 Magha *śukla* 2, i.e., Sunday, January 22nd, 1178.

2) Inscription at Khauma Tol, Bhatgaon; coming from Mṛgasthali[4]. Dated *Samvat 200–90–5 Vaiśākha–śukla–tṛtīyāyāṃ R.–śrī Amṛtadevasya vijayarājye.* The date corresponds to April 15th, 1175.

3) Ms. *Daśakriyāpaddhati*, National Archives, I.1536.3. Colophon[5]: *Samvat 296 Caitra–śukla–pūrṇṇimāsyāṃ | R.–P.–śrī–Amṛtadevasya vijayarājye pustako 'yaṃ likhitam–iti* || The date corresponds to March 27th, 1176.

4) Ms. *Kuśaṇḍikarmavaidikamantrasaṅgraha*, National Archives, I.1583.13. Colophon[6]: *Samvat 200–90–6 Jeṣṭha–śukla–caturthyāṃ Punarvvasunakṣatre bṛhaspatidine idaṃ pustakaṃ likhitam–iti R.–P.–śrīmad–Amṛtadevarājasya vijayarājye* || The date is verified for Thursday, May 13th, 1176.

5) Inscription on a Ganeśa image at Changu Narayan[7]. Dated *ṛtu–graha–samayukte samvatsara–śatadvaye* (= 296) *Jyeṣṭhamāsāsitāṣṭamyāṃ rājye śryAmṛtabhūpateḥ | bhrā-*

1) Wright, p. 162.

2) For these dates see V², 32*a*.

3) First published 1958.

4) Published by Yogi Naraharinath in *Itihās Prakāś*, II, 3, Kathmandu 1956, 542–543, with the wrong date of 285. It was corrected by Bholanath Paudel in *Pūrṇimā*, 3 (2021 VS), 28–29. Re-edited by Regmi, III, 9.

5) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 65. Cf. Bendall, *History*, 23.

6) First published 1958.

7) Published in *AS*, 2 (2018 VS), 13. Re-edited by Regmi, III, 9, and in *Bhaktapur śilalekh śuci*, 5.

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turVijayadevasya svargga-samprāpti hetave | śrī-Viśākhādidevena jananyā Madhuka-śriyaḥ etc. Dedicated by the widow of Rudradeva and by her son Viśākhadeva as a propitiation to the soul of her other son Vijayadeva, deceased. The date corresponds to May 17th, 1176.

6) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, Jyeṣṭhavarṇa Mahāvihāra, Caka Bahal Tol, Patan. Colophon [1] *Aṣṭādhikanavati-śatadvaya-samvatsare māse Māgha-pūrṇṇamasyāṃ śaniścara-dine R.-P.-kulatilakĀmṛtadevasya vijayarājye | śrī-Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa-dakṣiṇa-ḍholakādhivāsina Rasapālasya pustako 'yam.* Copied at Kathmandu. The date is verified for Saturday, February 4th, 1178.

Amṛtadeva was born as the son of Sīhadeva in 133 Āśvini *śukla* 3, Viśākha *nakṣatra*; the date is verified for September 25th, 1113. He lived 66 years and died in Bhādrapada *kṛṣṇa* 9. This would place his death in August 27th–28th, 1179. According to V[1] and VK/VD he reigned for 3 years and 11 months. The later chronicles give him 21 years. He should have reigned NS 295–299; but actually he abdicated or was deposed, because his death happened ten months after the coronation of his successor. Thus his rule lasted from 1175 to 1178.

This was an unlucky reign. The old chronicle registers a disastrous famine during the rule of Amṛtadeva; the price of grain rose high and food became very scarce. With him the old kingdon began to break apart.

Someśvaradeva (1178–1183/5)

The next king was Someśvaradeva, a name which at once points to a connection with the Cālukyas of the Deccan. As already remarked above (p. 56), the last Cālukyas and their successors boasted of conquests in, or suzerainty over, Nepal. Nothing of the sort can have any basis in reality, but the fact remains that there was some amount of religious, it not political, influence from the South, and that the close association of Southern Brahmans with Nepalese shrines dates probably from this time.

We have three colophons of Someśvaradeva:

1) Ms. *Prāyaścittopadeśa*, Kaisher Library n. 522. Colophon [2]: *Samvatsare navādhikanavati-śatadvaye māsa-Mārggaśira-śukla-ṣaṣṭame R.-P.-raghukulatilaka-śrī-Someśvaradevasya vijayarāje likhitam-idam.* The date corresponds to November 14th, 1178.

1) Published by Sakya-Vaidya, 16.
2) First published 1958.

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2) Ms. *Śrīmahāmanthānabhairavatantra*, Kaisher Library, n. 592. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 300 Phārgguṇa–śukla–pūrṇṇimāsyāyāṃ budhadine mahārāja–śrī–Someśvaradevasya vijayarājye* || The date is verified for Wednesday, February 13th, 1180.

3) Ms. *Saptaśatī*, National Archives, I.606.13. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 301 Kārttika–śukla–dvitīyāyāṃ budhadine* || *śrī–M.–śrī–Someśvaradevasya vijayarājye* || The date is verified for Wednesday, November 11th, 1180.

Someśvaradeva was a son of the *yuvarāja* Mahendradeva and was born in 242 Phalguna *śukla* 13, Magha *nakṣatra* [3]; the date is verified for the last hours of February 20th, 1122. He lived 63 years, which would put his death at the beginning of 1185. According to VK/VD, his *puṣyābhiṣeka* was performed in 299 Kārttika *kṛṣṇa* 6, *śukravāra*; the date is verified for the early hours of Friday, November 3rd, 1178, i.e. shortly before the date of his first colophon. V[1] allows him 4 years and 3 months, and VK/VD 6 years and 3 months; the later chronicles ignore his name altogether. Apparently V[1] refers to the period in which he exerted real authority, i.e. till 1183, while VK/VD extend his purely nominal reign down to his death early in 1185.

His accession had been in accordance with the prevailing law of succession by seniority; but with him the system broke down. Inspite of the increasing weakness of his rule, the king found the time and possibility to erect a beautiful wooden structure on the great temple of Yogha, a *vihāra* which was situated near the modern Kumbheshvar temple in Patan. He built also the noteworthy southern Vidyapīṭha and a hospice nearby (V[1], 25*b*).

The nominal reign of Someśvaradeva ended in utter chaos. No documents are extant for his last four years; and in this period we find a great nobleman, the *mahāsāmanta* Ratnadeva asserting a measure of independence He is unknown to all the *vaṃśāvalīs*, and the only evidence of his existence and rule is given by two colophons:

1) Ms. *Carakasamhitā*, National Archives, I.1648.1. Colophon [4]: *Adyeha śrīmad–Dhavalaśrotryāṃ mahāsāmanta śrīmadRatnadeva–kalyāṇavijayarājye | Samvatsarāṇāṃ trayādhikaśatatrayam–aṅke pi Samvat 303 Caitra–śudi–pañcamyāṃ somadine | bhāro śrī likhāpitaṃ cedam Jejāvuktīya–śrīvāstavya–kāyasthānvaya–paṇdita–śrī–Ratnapālena.* The date is verified for Monday, February 28th, 1183.

1) First published 1958.

2) First published 1958.

3) V[2], 32*a*. In 1958 I read the year as 239. But a careful inspection of the original ms. has convinced me that the correct reading is 242, as maintained by Dhanbajra Bajracharya.

4) First published 1958. Mentioned in *CPMDN*, I, xxi, and in Bendall, *History*, 24.

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2) Ms. *Triyakalaguṇottara*, National Archives, III.392.1. Colophon [1]: *Nepāladeśiya-samvat 304 Jyeṣṭha-śudi 13 gurau Dhavalaśrotapure mahāsāmanta-śrī-Ratnadīva-rājye | maṅgalaṃ mahāśrīḥ | tṛkaśadanvaya-śaivācārya-śrī-Śrīdhara-rājaguruṇā likhāpitaṃ* etc. The date is verified for Thursday, May 25th, 1184.

We have met already with the family of the *sāmantas* of Dhavalaśrotrī, who in 1100 had claimed independence for a short period. The attempt was repeated now. Of course there is no reason for assuming that this frontier *sāmanta* ruled over the Valley. But his bold assertion of independence throws a flash of light upon the real conditions of the country at the end of Someśvaradeva's nominal reign.

The mounting chaos is reflected in the chronicles. The modern ones jump straight over to the early Mallas. Of the two earlier ones, the text of VK seems to be in disorder. It first inserts here the foundation of the Mahendrasarovara tank by *yuvāraja* Mahendradeva in 239 NS. Then it gives the date of the coronation of Guṇakāmadeva, without the regnal years. Lastly it mentions the name of Vijayakāmadeva, leaving a blank where the figures for the regnal years should be. V^1 merely gives the names and regnal years of these two kings. I shall try to unravel this jumble with the help of the colophons.

Guṇakāmadeva (1184–1187)

The coronation (read *puṣyābhiṣeka* for *puṣpābhiṣeka*) of Guṇakāmadeva took place in 305 Pauṣa *śudi* 7, *aṅgāra* (VK/VD), when Someśvaradeva was possibly still alive. The date is verified for Tuesday, December 11th, 1184. According to V^1 he reigned for three years, and this span of time agrees with the dates of his five colophons:

1) Ms. *Pratiṣṭhāloka*, National Archives, III.191.6. Colophon [2]: *Vikhyāte triśate varaṇa-bāṇa-yute Nepalasamvatsare Māgha-māse śrī-Guṇakāmadeva-rājye.* The indication of the year is not clear, but I take it to mean 305; the date would correspond to January, 1185.

2) Ms. *Bṛhajjātaka-saṅkṣepaṭikā*, National Archives, V.701. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 305 prathamĀṣāḍha-śukla-tṛtīyāyāṃ āditya-vāsare Puṣya-nakṣatre R.-P.-Pb.-śrīmadGuṇa-*

[1] Published in *CPMDN*, II, 85.

[2] First published 1958.

[3] Published by Regmi, I, 193, and by Debiprasad Lamsal, *Bhāṣā-Vaṃśāvalī*, II, Kathmandu 2023 VS, 24, with the wrong date 307; rectified by Shankarman Rajbamshi, "Devanāgarī-lipi-ko vikās", in *Kailash*, 2 (1974), 49.

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kāmadevasya rājye likhitam. There was no Siṃha *saṅkrānti* in Bhādrapada, and this caused an intercalary Āṣāḍha. The date is verified for Sunday, June 2nd, 1185.

3) Ms. *Manthānabhairavatantra*, National Archives, II.218.1. Colophon [1]: *ŚrīmadGuṇakāmadeva–sambhujya–Nepāladeśe rājye svasti samvat* 306 *kāyastha–śrī–Mahādevena likhitam.*

4) Ms. *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*, National Archives, I.1633.6. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 307 Phālguṇa–kṛṣṇa–ṣaṣṭamyāṃ śrī–Gunakāmadevasya vijayarājye likhitam–idam.* The date corresponds to March 2nd, 1187.

5) Ms. *Aṣṭsāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Woku Bahal, Patan. Colophon [3]: *Śaradi triśate*... ..... *dhigate daśamī guru–vāsare yogavare pṛthupuṇyayayoḥ dhṛtvati vāmakare | rājya–śrī–Guṇakāmadeva–jayino rājye* etc. Only a portion of the date (300) can be read.

Guṇakāmadeva's rule seems to have lasted from 1184 to 1187 or 1188. It is perhaps significant that only one of his colophons (Doc. 2) gives him the full royal style.

Lakṣmīkāmadeva (c. 1192–1197) *and Vijayakāmadeva* (c. 1192–1200)

If we accept a rule of three years only for Guṇakāmadeva, we are groping in absolute obscurity for the four years following 1187. When the curtain rises again, we find ourselves confronted with two rulers fighting for the crown. To judge from the form of their names, they may have been the sons or at any rate relatives of Guṇakāmadeva.

One of them is Lakṣmīkāmadeva, who is passed under silence by all the *vaṃśāvalīs*, but is known from four colophons:

1) Ms. *Nāgānandanāṭaka*, National Archives, III.363.7. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 313 Kārttika–kṛṣṇe ādityavare | R.–P.–śrī–Lakṣmīkāmadevasya vijayarājye*... Then, in a later hand, *Svasti śrī–Lalitapaṭṭanāt etc.* The date corresponds either to Sunday, October 25th, or to Sunday, November 1st, 1192. The mention of the place (Patan) cannot be relied upon.

2) Ms. *Piṅgalāmata*, British Museum, Or. 2279. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 313 dvirāṣāḍhapūrṇamāsyāṃ | Sravaṇa–nakṣatraṃ | bṛhaspativāsare || Śrī–Nepālamaṇḍale R.–P.–śrī–ūrdhvapaṭkeḥ śrīmat–śrī–Lakṣmīkāmadevasya vijayarājye śrī–Yambukramāyāṃ Makha-*

1) First published 1958 with the wrong date 316. Re–edited by Regmi, I, 193–194. The true date was established by M. R. Pant, "*Puṣyabhiṣeka*,", in *JNRS* 1 (1977), 103.

2) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 76.

3) Published by Regmi, I, 193 and re–edited by Sakya–Vaidya, 18, with the date of 305. M. R. Pant, *Op. cit.*, 104, showed that this date is absolutely hypothetical.

4) Published in *CPMDN*, II, 39.

5) Published in *CSBM*, 235, n. 550.

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naṭollakādhivāsinaḥ dvijavaryaḥ śrī–Ānando śramaṇasya Piṅgalamate āgama etc. Written in Kathmandu North. The Makhaṇa Tol has preserved its name to the present day (Makhaṃ Bahal). There was no Tūla *saṅkrānti* in Āśvini and this caused an intercalary Āṣāḍha, which corresponds to Śrāvaṇa in the Sūrya Siddhānta; the date is verified in all its elements for Thursday, July 15th, 1193.

3) Ms. *Sarvalakṣaṇavivaraṇapañjikā*, Kaisher Library, n. 27 . Colophon [1]: *Samvat 300–10–5 × × × somadine Punarvasu–nakṣatre | R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Lakṣmikāmadevasya vijayarājye |* Month and *tithi* are not legible. But the coincidence of the Punarvasu *nakṣatra* with Monday is most complete in Caitra; less full is the concidence in Vaiśākha, and there is also a very slight possibility for Phālguṇa. Thus the date corresponds most likely to Monday, March 20th, 1195.

4) Ms. *Tvaritāmūlasūtra*, Kaisher Library, n. 70. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 317 Śrāvaṇa–tṛtīyāṃ | śaniścara–vāre | R.–P.–śrīmal–Lakṣmikāmadevasya vijayarājye* || The date is verified for Saturday, July 19th, 1197.

Of course almost nothing can be said about this obscure ruler. The only certain thing is that for some time Kathmandu was included in his dominion, and that he reigned c. 1192–1197.

The other pretender was Vijayakāmadeva, of whose reign six documents are extant:

1) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, National Archives, IV.21.4. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 312 Vaiśā[khaśu]kla–tṛtīyāḥ bṛhaspati–dine R. –P.–Pb.–śrī–Vijayakāmadevasya vijayarājye* || The date is verified for Thursday, April 16th, 1192.

2) Ms. *Brahmoktasaṃhitā*, National Archives, III.380.11. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 315 Caitra–śukla–pūrṇṇamāsyāṃ soma–vāsare Citra–nakṣatre Harṣana–yoge | R.–P.–Pb.–śrīmad–Vijayakāmadevasya vijayarājye vipra–śrī–Jayabrahmaśarmaṇaḥ likhitaṃ–idaṃ pustakaṃ* || The date is verified for Monday, March 27th, 1195.

3) Ms. *Saptaśatī*, National Archives, III.96.2. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 316 prathamākhāḍha–śuklaikādaśyāṃ somavāre | rājye śrī–Vijayakāmadevasya | bhaṭṭa–śrī–Haricandraśarmasya puṇyavivṛddhitārthena śrīmadDevyāyāstava–daivajña–śrī–Ratnacandrena likhitaṃ* || In that year there was no Siṃha *saṅkrānti* in Śrāvaṇa, and therefore Āṣāḍha was intercalated. The date is irregular; the *tithi* ended on June 8th, 1196, which day, however, was a Saturday and not a Monday.

4) Ms. *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, British Museum, Or. 3345. Colophon[6]: *Śrī Yaṅgalottaraṭolake 'dhivāsinau bhāryā Udelacchi bhārī svāmi śrī Thakurakā | .... Samvat 316 dvirĀṣāḍha pūrṇamāsya bṛhaspati–vāsare.... rājye R.–P.–śrīmadVijayakāmadevasya vijayarājye* || Written in Kathmandu South. *Dvir*–Āṣāḍha corresponds to *prathama*–Śrāvaṇa in the Sūrya Siddhantā. The date is verified for Thursday, July 11th, 1196.

5) Ms. *Nityāhnikatilaka*, National Archives, I.1320.9. Colophon [7]: *SrīmadVijayakāma-*

1) First published 1958.
2) First published 1958.
3) First published 1958.
4) Published in *CPMDN*, II, p. 77.
5) First published 1958.
6) Published in *CSBM*, 230, n. 542.
7) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 113.

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devasya rājye samvat 317 *Vaiśākha pūrṇṇamāsyāṃ* etc. The date corresponds to May 3rd, 1197.

6) Stone inscription at Icaṅgu Nāvāyaṇ, in the hills at a short distance to the North-West of Kathmandu [1]. It is dated *ākāśa–nayana–dahane yā[te]* (= 320) *Nepāla–vatsare rājye Āśāḍha–site śvauri–divase rājñah śri–Vijayakāmadevasya.* This corresponds either to Saturday, January 22rd, or to Saturday, January 29th, 1200.

Vijayakāmadeva is given 7 years by the old chronicle [2], 50 years and 7 months by VD; no figures are given by VK [3]. Seven years is in any case too short a span of time, because the period covered by documents is of eight years. Nor can it refer to a period of sole rule, because Lakṣmīkāmadeva was still reigning in 1197 and because Arimalla was on the throne in the autumn of 1200. The figure is therefore wrong, but we have no means to tell the exact duration of this reign, of whose events nothing is known. The minimum period is from 1192 (or earlier) to 1200.

With the three Kāmadevas an epoch came to an end amidst utter anarchy and confusion. The civil war ushered in the rule of a new and more virile dynasty, which gave back to the country its unity and prosperity, at least for a period.

1) First mentioned 1958. Fully edited by Regmi, III, 10–11, and in *AS*, 9 (2020 VS), 26–27.

2) V[1], f. 25*b*; wrong read as 17 by Bendall, *History*, p. 24.

3) The Kaisher ms. writes *varṣa māsa*, leaving blank spaces for the figures. Kirkpatrick, p. 264, too gives the regnal period as unknown, and this close concordance goes to show that the Kaisher ms. and the informant of Kirkpatrick got their information from the same defective ms., – unless, by a curious coincidence, Kirkpatrick's source is the very Kaisher ms., which in his times was not yet mutilated as it is now.

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CHAPTER V

THE EARLY MALLAS

We have no means of ascertaining the conditions in which power passed from the old dynasty to the Mallas.

The Mallas were not absolute newcomers on the scene of Nepalese history, or, for that matter, of Indian history. They are mentioned in the earliest Buddhist texts as a feudal confederation, whose territory was adjacent to that of the Licchavi. Their name occur in the *Mahābhārata* along with Kosala, in Varāhamihira, the *Mārkandeyapurāṇa*, the list of the Yakṣas in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*. Their chief cities were Kusinārā and Pāvā in the Tarai [1]. The Mallas in Nepalese history seem, however, to have had no direct connection with the Indian Mallas. The very earliest Nepalese inscription, the Caṅgu Nārāyaṇ pillar of Mānadeva, mentions a campaign of that king against the Malla city to the west of Nepal. And this principality, nestling in the Western hills and thus different from the Mallas of the Tarai, continued to be a nuisance to the Licchavi and to the Thākurīs after them, till far in the 7th century. An inscription of Śivadeva and one of Jiṣṇugupta allude to the "Malla tax" (*mallakara*) imposed on their subjects, either for defence or for tribute purposes [2]. After the 7th century the Mallas lapsed into obscurity, although of course this might be merely a consequence of the lack of documents. We have no information at all on them for about five centuries.

At this point, it is better to pause in order to clear the ground

1) Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, pp. 210–214; H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edition, Calcutta 1953, pp. 126–128; C. C. Majumdar et alii, *The age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay 1953, pp. 7–8.

2) Gnoli, nn. XXX and LVI.

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from some misconceptions. Lévi had collected three pieces of evidence which he thought could establish the existence of Malla princes in Nepal about 700–1200 A.D. [1]. Fairly enough, he presented two of them as very doubtful. But I am afraid none of them has any historical basis, as we are going to see.

A. – The Buddhist *vaṃśāvalī* [2] relates the foundation of Campapurī (modern Chapagaon) by Rāja Malla Deva and Kathya Malla of Patan in 111 NS Phālguna *śukla* 6 (February 23rd, 991). But the event is placed in the reign of Narasiṃhadeva, the second successor of Nānyadeva who ascended the throne of Mithilā in 1097. This chronological absurdity invalidates the evidence, which cannot be taken seriously.

B. – A ms. of the *Devīmāhātmya* is said to be dated 118 NS, in the reign of one Dharma Malla. At least this is the reading given by the catalogue [3]. I have checked the original ms. in the National Archives, I.1534.2, and the result is that the reading of H. P. Shastri, accepted by Lévi, must be discarded. The date is really 518 and the ruler is of course Jayadharma Malla; see p. 147.

C. – It has been known for a long time that Aśoka's pillar at Niglihava in the Nepalese Tarai bears a graffito, which its first discoverer [4] read as *Sri Tapu Malla jayastu Samvat 1234*. Lévi took this to be Vikrama Samvat, and suggested that it the proved the existence of Malla princes in the Tarai about 1177 A.D. However, it is now agreed on every side that the graffito actually reads: *śrī–Rapumallaś–ciraṃ jayatu 1234*. The correct spelling of the name is Ripumalla. The record therefore refers to the Khasiyā kings of Western Nepal; the date is expressed in the Śaka era that was normally employed by those rulers, and corresponds to 1312 A.D. Another graffito found on the Aśoka pillar at Lumbini reads: *Śrī–Ripumalla cirañ–jayatu Saṃgrā[ma]malla mahārāja–jayaḥ* (?). Saṅgrāmamalla was the son and successor of Ripumalla. Thus these graffitoes have nothing to do with the early Mallas od Nepal. It should also be noted

1) S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, pp. 212–213.

2) Wright, p. 167.

3) *CPMDN*, I, p. 64.

4) P. C. Mukherjea, *A report...on the antiquities in Tarai, Nepal*, Calcutta 1901, p. 34.

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that among the Khasiyā kings the ending Malla appears only in the last quarter of the 13th century, and is therefore later than the Mallas of the Nepal Valley.

The name Malla has been hitherto conventionally used for the kings who ruled the Valley from 1200 to 1768/9. I think, however, that the time has come to give up this convention, as the name is incorrectly employed to cover at least three different dynasties.

1. – The Early Malla dynasty founded by Arimalla in 1200. Their main branch ceased to reign with his grandson Jayadeva in 1258. The branches of Aganakamalla and Jagadanekamalla (perhaps one and the same person?), which ascended the throne in 1274 and 1271 (see Genealogical Table B), may have belonged to the same family, although the chronicles are silent on this point. They died out with Jayārimalla in 1344 and with Nāyakadevī in 1347 respectively.

2. – The Bhonta family of Jayabhīmadeva, which began to rule in 1258 and alternated on the throne with the secondary Malla branch till it became extinct with Jayārjunadeva in 1382.

3. – Jayasthitimalla and his issue. He became chief of Bhatgaon by his marriage with Nāyakadevī's daughter Rājalladevī in 1354, and king of Patan after Jayārjunadeva's death in 1382. His descendants ruled in Nepal till the Gorkha conquest in 1768–9. The ancestors of whom they boasted were not the paternal ones, i.e. the nearly unknown forefathers of Jayasthitimalla, but those on the maternal side, i.e. the Tirhut rulers from whom Rājalladevī's father Jagatsiṃha was descended. They did not claim descent from the Early Malla rulers.

Accordingly, I shall deal with these dynasties in three separate chapters.

The ending Malla appears for the first time in medieval Nepal in 1111, when Naramalla repelled an attack of Nānyadeva of Tirhut (see p. 56). One generation later we find in 1142 one Yaśomalla, who obtained *dīkṣa* from Śaiva reachers along with the royal princes Ānandadeva, Vasantadeva and Someśvaradeva (see p. 65); his son Anaṅgamalla, born in 1152, died in 1171 [1]. Other persons with the ending Malla appear slightly later. One of them was Jayaśimalla, whose son Arimalla founded the Early Malla dynasty.

[1] For these dates see V², 32*b*, and Doc. 6 of Rudradeva.

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Arimalla (1200–1216)

None of the *vaṃśāvalīs* supply information on the circumstances of Arimalla's accession to the throne, and we are left in the dark whether he obtained it through conquest, election or relationship with the old ruling family on the distaff side. The date of the event can be established with a fair degree of certainty. Vijayakāmadeva's last document is of January 1200 and Arimalla's first colophon belongs to October of the same year (or even of the preceeding year). Thus the new dynasty became established on the throne in 1200.

Fifteen documents of the times of Arimalla are extant:

1) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, National Archives, V.181. Colophon [1]: ..... *śrī–Padmapābhu–mahāvihāra–vāstavyaḥ* etc. | *rājño śrīmadArimalla–vijayarājye* | *Samvat 321 Kārttika–śukla–daśamyāṃ* | *saniścara–vāre* | *Pūrvvabhadra–nakṣatre* | *bodhau yena kṛtamānasā jinasutāstrabhu samāpta.* The monastery seems to be the Padmocchrī–*mahāvihāra* (Newari: Guita Bahal), in Patan. The date cannot be verified. The *tithi* ended on October 19th, 1200, which day was a Thursday and not a Saturday, and the *nakṣatra* ended on the 20th. If the year be taken (exceptionally) as current, the date would be verified for October 30th, 1199.
2) Ms. *Vṛttasārasaṅgrahadharmaputrikā*, National Archives, V.738. Colophon [2]: *Śreyo 'stu samvatsare śatatraya ekaviṃśatyādhika Pauṣa kṛṣṇa–trayodaśyāṃ guru–dine Mūla–nakṣatre Vyāghata–yoge śrī–Nepāla–R.–P.–Paramamaheśvara–Paśupatibhaṭṭārakasya* || *śrī–Arimalladevasya vijayarājye śrī–Pañcāvatadeśiya–viṣayādhipati–Rāṇaka–śrī–Śrīdharasiṃhasya varttamāne.* It has been rightly remarked that *Rāṇaka* is a typically Magar title; and thus the Pañcāvata outlying district was probably situated in the Magar country [3]. The date is verified for Thursday, January 4th, 1201.
3) Ms. *Jyotiṣaratnamālā*, Kaisher Library, n. 46/1. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 322 Kārttika–śukla–navamyāṃ āditya–vāsare rājye śrīmadArimalladevasya vijayarājye likhanaṃ samāptīkṛtaṃ* || The date is verified for Sunday, October 21st, 1201.
4) Ms. *Bṛhajjātaka*, Kaisher Library, n. 40. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 322 Mārggaśira–kṛṣṇa–caturthyāṃ śukradine Punarvvasu–nakṣatre rājye śrīmadArimalladevasya śubhalagne likhanaṃ samāptam–iti* || The date is irregular; the 4th *tithi* and the Punarvasu *nakṣatra* ended an November 15th, 1201, which day hovewer was a Thursday and not a Friday.
5) Ms. *Sattvavādhāpranāmana*, National Archives, I.1645.14. Colophon [6]: *Samvat 322 Āṣāḍha–kṛṣṇa 'ṣṭamyām–ādityavāsare rāja–śrīmadArimalla–devasya vijayarāje likhanaṃ samāptibhūtaṃ* || The date is verified for Sunday, July 14th, 1202.

1) Published by Regmi, I, 207.
2) Published by Regmi, I, 207.
3) As suggested by Dh. Bhajracharya, in *CNS*, 5/1 (1977), 101.
4) First published 1958.
5) First published 1958.
6) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 83.

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6) Ms. *Aṣṭsāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Ṅor monastery in Tibet. Colophon [1]: *Śikhi–netra–yute vahnau* (= 322) *gate Nepālavatsare | rājye hyArimalladevasya khyāte sukīrtti-mālinaḥ | māse Dusthiti sitepakṣe daśamyāṃ budhavāsare* || The "unstable, bad" (*dusthiti*) month is Pauṣa, because no rites are performed in it [2]. The date is verified for Wednesday, December 25th, 1202.

7) Ms. *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī*, National Archives, I.1361.15. Colophon [3]: *Yate 'bde triśate sa ca ṣaṭsahite bhuyo viṃśatya* × *Śrāvaṇe māsi–tithau śrī Arimalladeva–nṛpe* × ×. The date corresponds either to July 18th or th August 3rd, 1206.

8) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, National Archives, III.682. Colophon [4]: *Sapta-viṃśati–saṅkhyāni saṃyukte 'bde śatatraye Āṣāḍhasya dine phūrṇe likhyate 'sau jina-prasūḥ | deyadharmo 'yam pravara–mahāyānayāyinaḥ paṇḍita–Kīrtiṣrijñānasya yat puṇyaṃ .... likhite 'yam bhagavatyAṣṭasāhasri[kā] śrī–Raghuvaṃśajanm Ārimalladevasya vi-jayarājye*. The date seems to correspond to July 10th, 1207; but something must be wrong here, because Āṣāḍha was intercalary in that year and the fact is not in dicated.

9) Ms. *Devīmāhātmya*, Private possession in Nepal. Colophon [5]: *Sam 329 Agrahana* (= Mārgaśira)*–śukla–aṣṭamyāṃ somadine likhitam* || *R.–P.–śrīmat Arimalladevasya rāje likhitam–idaṃ* || The date is verified for Monday, November 17th, 1208.

10) Ms. *Mahārahasyasampradāya*, Kaisher Library, n. 79 2. Colophon [6]: *R.–P.–Pb.–śrīmadArimalladevasya vijayarājye | samvat 331 Śrāvaṇa śudi 7* || The date corresponds to July 18th, 1211.

11) Ms. *Manthānabhairavatantra*, National Archives, I.1151. Colophon [7]: *Samvat 334 Māgha–śukla–pratipadā R.–P.–Pb.–śrīmadArimalladeva–vijayarājye likhitam–idaṃ pustakaṃ*. The date corresponds to January 13th, 1214.

12) Ms. of a commentary of Harihara on the *Malatīmādhava*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 4805. Colophon [8]: *ṣāṇvahniramage* (= 336) *varṣe Pauṣa–śukleśa* (= 11)*–vāsare bhṛguje vāmṛte* (= Śiva) *yoge rājye Harimalladevīye*. The date is verified for Friday, January 1st, 1216.

13) Ms. *Sādhanasamuccaya*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1648. Colophon [9]: *Samvat 336 Pauṣa–kṛṣṇāṣṭamyāṃ bṛhaspativāsare Viśākha–nakṣatre R.–P.–śrīmadAri-malladevasya vijarājye* etc. The date is verified for Thursday, January 14th, 1216.

14) Ms. *Kriyāsaṅgraha*, Kaisher Library, n. 109. Colophon [10]: *Samvat 336 Māgha–kṛṣṇa–saptamyāṃ bṛhaspatidine | śrī–R.–P.–śrīmatArimalladevasya vijayarāje pustakaṃ likhitam–iti* || The date is verified for Thursday, February 11th, 1216.

15) Ms. *Amṛteśvarapūjā*, National Archives, I.1365.5. Colophon [11]: *Svasti | ŚrīmanNepā-*

1) Published in RS, XXI, 32.
2) As shown by Regmi, I, 205.
3) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 96.
4) Published in *Bṛhatsūcīpatram*, VII, Kathmandu 2021 VS, 40.
5) This colophon was kindly communicated to me by Purnaharsha Bajracharya.
6) First published 1958.
7) Published in *Bṛhatsūcīpatram*, IV, Kathmandu 2025 VS, 65.
8) Published in *CSMASB*, VII, 243, n. 5299.
9) Published in *CBMC*, 155, and by A. Foucher, *Études sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, I, Paris 1905, 6.
10) First published 1958.
11) First published 1958.

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leśvaraḥ | samastarājavalivirājita | M. | P.–paramamāheśvara | śrī–Paśupati–bhaṭṭārakāvadhānād–bhaktijala–prakṣālitāṃtaḥkaraṇa | sakalaśāstraparimalita | siddhāṃtataṃtrarahasyāgamārghavida | śrīmadvimalaprabodhapādaprasādāl–labdhābhiṣeka–ṣaḍanvayādhārya | nirjjitārivrāta | pratāpālaṃkeśvara | raghuvaṃśakulātisarvvajanahṛdayānaṃdakara | dīnaduḥkhitajanāśāparipūraka | anekaguṇanidhāna | śrīmadArimalladeva–pravarddhamāna–vijayarājye | Vikramābda–gate 1273 | Nepalābda–gata–samvat 336 Jyeṣṭha–kṛṣṇa–saptamyāṃ tithau budhadine | Gurjjaradeśiya–camatkārapurād–āgata | brahmaṇapaṃditācārya śrī–Harihareṇa likhitam–iti śubhaṃ || Its is curious to note the highflown and bombastic style of this Gujarati scribe (who also employs his native Vikrama Samvat) in contrast with the rather plain royal titles used by his Nepalese colleagues. The date is verified for Wednesday, June 8th, 1216.

Arimalla was born in 274 Mārgaśira (*pakṣa* and *tithi* cannot be read any more; November–December 1153), occupied the throne for 15 years and died at the age of 62 years and 10 months (V^2, 32*b*) which brings us to Āśvini 336 (September–October 1216); this must be correct, because the span of time covered by the colophons is of almost 16 years and because his last date is Jyeṣṭha 336 and the first of his successor is Jyeṣṭha 337. According to other texts, he reigned for 31 years and 9 months (VK/VD) or 25 years and 10 months (V^1, 25*b*). We may suppose that these higher figures refer to the period between his first laying claim to the crown and his death. This would place the beginning of his rise in 305 according to VK and in 311 according to V^1. There would be nothing surprising in this, keeping in view the state of turmoil betrayed by the contemporary rule of Lakṣmīkāmadeva and Vijayakāmadeva.

It is also noteworthy that our Doc. 2, written under the protection of *rāṇaka* Śrīdharasiṃha, apparently a powerful feudatory, gives to Arimalla the full royal titles; this looks as if Śrīdharasiṃha was the chief supporter of the new ruler in the struggle for the crown. But after this, we have to wait till 1209 (Doc. 9) before the full royal style appears again, to be consistently employed till the end of Arimalla's rule. This leads us to suppose that only after eight years or so did the new regime feel itself firmly established. Be it as it may, Arimalla reigned from 1200 to the autumn of 1216.

Nothing is known of his reign beyond a severe famine which desolated the kingdom (VK, V^1).

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Abhayamalla (1216–1255).

Arimalla's son and successor Abhayamalla seems to have ascended the throne without difficulty. He enjoyed a long rule, and 25 documents of his reign are extant:

1) Ms. *Kriyāsaṅgraha*, National Archives, IV.61. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 337 Jyeṣṭha–śukla–pūrṇṇamāsyāṃ somadine | śrī–R.–P.–Pb–śrīmatĀbhayamalladevasya vijayarājye liṣitaṃ iti* || The date is verified for Monday, May 22nd, 1217.
2) Ms. *Samājatantrānuṣāriṇīgaṇacakrakriyā* (last leaf only), National Archives III.803. 12.10. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 338 Mārggaśira–kṛṣṇa–navamyāṃ śukradine R.–P.–śrīmadAbhemalladeva–vijayarājye pustakanalikhitam–idaṃ* || The date is verified for Friday, November 24th, 1217.
3) Ms. *Niṣpandayogāvali*, National Archives, V.6904. Colophon [3]: *Nṛpati–śrīmadAbhayamallasya vijayarājye | Nepāla–hāyane vasu–vahni itirabhigativahanendu..... bhṛgumaṇḍite ca | śrī–Lalitapuryāṃ śrīmatIndriya–saṃskārita–śrī–Jayamanoharavarmaṇā–mahāvihārāsthita–kāyastha–vajrācārya–bhikṣu–Jñānarakṣitena likhitaṃ.* The Jayamanohara *mahāvihāra* founded by Indradeva is the modern Su Bahal in Patan. The date appears to be the year 338 (1217–1218 A.D.).
4) Ms. *Ārya–Vasudhārāyāḥ Ṣoḍaṣakalpa*, Private possession in Nepal. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 339 Māgha–śukla–pratipadyāṃ śukravāsare || R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Abhayamalladevasya vijayarāje likhitam–iti* || The date is verified for Friday, February 1st, 1219.
5) Ms. *Vajrāvalināmamaṇḍalopāyika* (last leaf only), National Archives, III.803.12.7. Colophon [5]: *Śūnyābdhi × 40 cāṅgadhātusāhite yatavatsare | Caitrākṣiṇakalānimaṇḍita–śaśināśācasaṅkhyā–tithau bhūpāla 'bhayamalladeva–nṛpate candrābhe 'vārayūte* || The date seems to be Monday, March 9th, 1220.
6) Ms. *Caṇḍakauśika*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 3824. Colophon [6]: *Khābdhiloke* (= 340) *gate varṣe Caitre pañcadase dine bhṛgau ca śrīmato rājye 'bhaimallasyāsya lekhanaṃ* || The date is verified for Friday, March 20th, 1220.
7) Ms. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, National Archives, II.51. A fine volume of blue paper written in gold. Colophon [7]: *Samvat 300–40 Āśviniśukla–ṣaṣṭamyāṃ | R.–P.–śrī Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye* || The date corresponds to September 19th, 1220.
8) Ms. *Bharatīyanāṭyaśāstra*, National Archives, II.215.1. Colophon [8]: *Svasti bhramarakrīdāketubhaṭṭāraka–pādānuhīrnityārādhamānā bhagavatī śrī–Māneśvarī–pādapaṅkaja | R.–P.–Pb.–raghuvaṃśa[tilaka]–śrīmad–Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye | kumāra–śrī–Anantamalladevasya pustakam–idam–likhāpitaṃ | Samvat 344 Kārtika–śukla–purṇṇamāsyāṃ bṛhaspati–vāsare* || Prince Anantamalla is of course different from the

1) First published 1958.
2) First published 1958.
3) Published incorrectly by Regmi, I, 217, with the wrong date of 345.
4) This colophon was kindly communicated to me by Purnaharsha Bajracharya.
5) First published 1958.
6) Published in *CSMASB*, VII, 252, m 5315, where the equivalent of the date is wrongly given as 370.
7) First published 1958.
8) First published 1958. Completed by M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 318*a*.

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king of the same name, who was born in NS 366. The date is verified for Thursday, November 9th, 1223.

9) Ms. *Pratiṣṭhāpaddhati*, Kaisher Library, n. 370. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 300–40–5 Bhādrapada–śukla–pañcamyāṃ śrī–Mānigla–Yoghakośastādhivāsino śrī–Abhayamāladeva–pādānām vijayarājye Jagatasomadattena likhitaṃ* || Yoghakośasta is the Yogha *vihāra* already mentioned (see p. 72). The date corresponds to August 10th, 1225.

10) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Hiraṇyavarṇa–*mahāvihāra*, Patan. Colophon [2]: *śrī–samvat 300–40–5 miti M.–P.–śrī Abhayamalladevasya Pb.sya Kāpitanagarasya śrī Ānandabhikṣu–nāme likhitam–ahaṃ*. The year is 1224–1225 A.D.

11) Ms. *Kalyāṇasaṅgraha*, University of Paris, Institut de la civilisation indienne, n. 49 *a*. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 351 Vaiśākha–śukla asaṭamyāṃ śukradine śrī–R.–P.sya Abhayamāladevasya vijayarājye*. The date is verified for Friday, April 11th, 1231.

12) Inscription at Motitar, near Lubhu [4]. Dated Samvat 353 *Kārttika–kṛṣṇa rājñaḥ śrī–śriyAbhayamalladevasya vijayarājye*. Written in the first fortnight of November 1232.

13) Ms. of a commentary (*pañjikā–ṭikā*), called × × *vatī*, on the *Roṣanatantra*. Private possession in Nepal. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 358 Phālguṇa–māsyā aṅgāra–dine* || *R.–P.–Pb.–śrīmadAbhayamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitam–iti* || The date corresponds to February–March, 1238.

14) Ms. *Saptaśatī*, National Archives, I.1559.10. Colophon [6]: *Samvat 358 Jeṣṭha–śukla–pañcamī–ghaṭita–ṣaṣṭamyām likhita–samāptāṃtatam–iti* | *śrī–śrī–Abhayamaladevasya vijayarājye likhitaṃ* || The date corresponds to May 20th, 1238.

15) Ms. *Paramārthanāmasaṅgīti*, National Archives, V.167. Colophon [7]: *Śrī–Kāṣṭamaṇḍapapure suraloka–sāmye devalaye vasati śrī–Jinarakhitaḥ saḥ* | etc. | *Nepalā–hāyane śuddhe guṇa–ṣaṭ–vahni* (= 363)*–vatsare gate Bhādra–pūrṇamāyāṃ śatvṛṣādityavāsare* | *R.–P.–Pb.–Abhayamallasya vijayarājye* | *śākyabhikṣu–śrī Abhayasenasya likhitam–idaṃ*. Copied at Kathmandu. The date is verified for Sunday, August 30th, 1243.

16) Ms. *Saptaśatī*, National Archives, I.1534.1. Colophon [8]: *Nepālika–samvat 365 Mārgaśira–śukla–saptamyāṃ Aśleṣa–nakṣatre aṃgāra–vāsare* | *śrī–R.–P.–pūjya–śrī–śrī–Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye*. The date is irregular; the *tithi* ended on Tuesday, November 8th, 1244, while the *nakṣatra* ended on November 21st.

17) Ms. *Padmanābhasaṅgraha*, National Archives, III.360.9. Colophon [9]: *Nayapāladeśīyābhilikhyamāna samvat 366 Vaiśākha–śukla 3 ravau ramye dinottame..... rāja–śrī–Abhayamalladevasya rājye Bhaktapuryāṃ bhāro–śrī Amokasya* etc. The date is irregular; the *tithi* ended on April 20th, 1246, which day was a Friday and not a Sunday.

18) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, British Museum, Or. 2203. Colophon [10]: *Śaila–raśarāmāyuto vahna* (= 367) *vatsare varttate* | *Māgha site 'naṅgadine* (= Kāmadeva

1) First published 1958.
2) Published by Sakya–Vaidya, 20.
3) Partially published by S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, 215*n*.
4) Published in *AS*, 2 (2018 VS), 14.
5) This colophon was kindly communicated to me by Purnaharsha Bajracharya.
6) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 69.
7) Published by Regmi, I, 217. It is a modern copy of the original.
8) Partly published in *CPMDN*, I, 69–64.
9) Published in *CPMDN*, II, 19.
10) Published in *CSMB*, 227, no. 536.

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= 13) *Jīnamātā pratiṣṭhitā* | *R.–P.mayam śrīmadAbhayamalladeva–vijayarājye* | *deyadharmo 'yam śrī–Lalitapuranagare śrī–Mānīglottare śrī–Mānisthāramakudyānivāsī Haripāla–Ṭhakurasya* etc. Written at Patan. The year is current, which is quite exceptional in Nepalese colophons. The date corresponds to January 31st, 1246.

19) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, National Archives, III.367. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 367 Phālguṇa–śukla ekādaśyāṃ ādityadine rāja–śrīmadAbhayamalladevasya vijayarājye* || The date is verified for Sunday, February 17th, 1247.

20) Inscription on the base of an inset Akṣobhya image on the eastern side of the Aśoka *caitya* in Guita Bahal, Patan [2]. Dated *Samvat 368 Māgha–kṛṣṇa–navamyāṃ tithau somadine R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī Abhayamalladevasya* etc. The date is verified for Monday, January 20th, 1248.

21) Ms. *Pañcarātramahālakṣmīsaṃhitāvasudevakalpa*, Kaisher Library, n. 420. Colophon [3] *Samvat 372 Caitra–kṛṣṇa–dvādaśī somavāsare* | *śrīmat R.–P.–śrī–śrī Abhayamalla–vijayarājye śrī–Mānigala Yoghakośādhivāsi.... rasena likhitaṃ.* Written in the Yogha monastery at Patan. The date is irregular: the *tithi* ended on April 7th, 1252, which day was a Sunday and not a Monday.

22) Ms. *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, B.23. Colophon [4]: *R.–P.–śrīmadAbhayamalladevasya vijayarājye likhana–samāptikṛtam–iti* | *Samvat 373 Mārgaśīrṣa–śukla–dvitiyāyāṃ śukla–vāsare Svāti–nakṣatre śrī–Nogallake vaiśya–śrī–Divākaravarmma–mahāvihāra–bhikṣu–vajrācāryeṇa Viramatinā svahastenā likhitam–iti* || Written at Patan. The date is completely irregular. The *tithi* ended on November 5th 1252, which day, however, was a Tuesday and not a Friday; and the Svāti *nakṣatra* ended on November 2nd.

23) Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1465. Colophon [5]: *Samvat tri – hṛ – 4 Kārttika–śukla–tṛtīyāyāṃ ādita–vāsare R.–P.–śrīmad–Abhayamalladevasya rājye likhitam–iti* || The second figure of the years is expressed by a complicated sign; Bendall read it as 6, although he thought that 5 would also be possible (Regmi accepted the reading 5). A date 384 could be verified for Sunday, October 7th, 1264; but historically it is impossible, as Abhayamalla had died nine years before that. A date of 354 is historically possible, but cannot be verified: the *tithi* would end on October 7th, 1233, a Friday. Perhaps the second digit is really meant for 7; and then the date can be verified for Sunday, October 26th, 1253.

24) Ms. *Saptaśatī*, National Archives, I.1559.1. Colophon [6]: *M.–P.–Pb.–śrīmadAbhayamalladevasya rājye* | *śrī–Bhaktapurī–nivāśina Jayatarāmasyāyāḥ nimittena Bhalloka Udayaharṣavarmmanā .... Nepāla–samvatsare bāṇa–śaila–harāvaka* (= *375*) *māse Caitra–śukla–trayodaśyāṃ somavāsare* || Written at Bhatgaon. The date is verified for Monday, March 22nd, 1255.

25) Ms. *Vāsudevakalpa*, National Archives, V.1963 (a modern copy). Colophon of the

[1] Published in *CPMDN*, II, 59.

[2] First published 1958. Reedited with omissions by Regmi, III, 12.

[3] First published 1958.

[4] Published by Regmi, I, 217. A modern copy of this manuscript is found in the Leningrad Public Library; N. Mironov, *Katalog indijskikh rukopisej Rossijskoj Publičnoj Biblioteki*, I, Petrograd 1918, 270–271, no. 287.

[5] Published in *CBMC*, 101–102.

[6] First published 1958. *CPMDN*, I, p. 70, lists this work under the alternative title of *Devīmāhātmya*; it gives the name and titles of the king, but not the date.

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original[1]: *Samvat 375 Caitra–kṛṣṇa–dvādaśī somavāsare śrī–R.–P.–śrī–śrī Abhayamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitam–idam.* The date is verified for Monday, April 5th, 1255.

According to V², Abhayamalla was born in 303, lived 72 years and 7 months and died after 39 years of reign in Āṣāḍha *śukla* 8, evidently of 375 (V², 32*b* and 35*b*); the date corresponds to June 13th, 1255. The other early chronicles give him 42 years and 6 months (V¹, 25*b*) or 48 years and 2 months (VK/VD). VL gives him 19 years only. Since his colophons cover a period of 38 years (337–375), the exact dates must be those of V²; and Abhayamalla reigned from 336 to Āṣāḍha 375, i.e. from 1216 to June 1255.

In his early years he seems to have been a studious young man, because, while still heir to the throne (*yuvarāja*), he wrote a portion of the devotional work *Amṛteśvarapūjā*, which is still extant and has been listed above (see pp. 81–82)[2].

His reign seems to have been not without challenge at first, because of the following document:

ms. *Vidyāvali*, British Museum, Or. 2208. Colophon[3]: *Pb.–M.–P.–Śrīmad–Raṇaśūradevasya pravarddhamāna–vijayarājye yatrāṅkenāpi Samvat 342 Mārga badi 2 Vateśvareṇa lekhitā | likhitā ca kāyastha–lekhaka–Mahādeveneti* || The date corresponds to December 2nd, 1221.

Raṇaśūra is unknown from any other source amd may have been a claimant to the throne of Nepal, unless we prefer to see in him one of the lesser Rajas of the Western hills.

But even after this episode, Nepal experienced serious trouble on her frontiers. On May 24th, 1244, the Ḍoya invaded Nepal through the Khaṇḍādhāra forest, but were checked with heavy losses. The Ḍoya army was led by king Rāmasiṃha. Foremost among the Nepalese leaders was Jagatbrahma, the lord of Cocheṃ (a ward in Bhatgaon); but the nominal commander–in–chief seems to have been Rāja Śrī Anarghamalladeva, who defeated the invaders and upon his return to the Valley was carried in triumph through the city to cele-

1) Published by Regmi, I, 217.

2) This manuscript has the following statement, preceding the colophon published above: *Śrī–Devābhayamallena sadācāryopadeśinā śrī–Mṛtyuñjayadevasya nityapūjāvidhiḥ kṛtaḥ* || *ityAmṛteśvarapūjanaṃ samāptaṃ.*

3) Published in *CSMB*, p. 214 n. 512.

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brate the victory [1]. On September 30th of the same year Amaru Mahātha issued from Palamchok to fight some unnamed invaders, routed them and came back in triumphant procession [2]. Possibly this second invasion too was launched by the Ḍoya. Rāja Anarghamalla was apparently a member of the royal family; but both he and Amaru Mahātha are otherwise unknown. Two years later (November 27th, 1245) the Ḍoya penetrated the Valley through Kapan and advanced as far as Bhoyothali (Bhumthali in the neighbourhood of Gokarna), where they were surrounded and a part of them was massacred; the remnant could escape [3].

As already shown abowe (see p. 56), the Ḍoya were the people of Tirhut; Rāmasiṃha, king of Tirhut of the Karṇāṭa dynasty, reigned c. 1205–1245 (see Appendix I). With him the Tirhutiya menace on the southern border revived, more than a century after the half-legendary beginnings with Nānyadeva.

Apart from the external danger, internal tensions were not lacking. On July 21st, 1242, Gundekvāth (Kirtipur) was attacked and stormed, and Kīrtipāla Bhāro of Kvāchem (a ward in Bhatgaon) was taken prisoner; but he was liberated already on July 30th [4].

In the course of these petty squabbles a new man came to the fore; this was Jayaśimalla or Jayasiṃhamalla. On November 10th, 1249, Anantamalla (perhaps the prince mentioned in Abhayamalla's Doc. 8) expelled the wife and son of the Jo Bhāro (i.e. perhaps the *yuvarāja* Jayadeva) from the Yuthonimaṃ palace (in Bhatgaon); on the same occasion (but apparently without connection) Jayasiṃhamalla took prisoner the Phu Bhāro of Bhonta (Banepa) [5]. On July 7th, 1250, a gang surrounded Yuthonimaṃ aiming to loot it; it was chased away by Jayasiṃhamalla [6].

Besides internal strife and foreign raids, Nepal was visited by natural calamities. There were several famines and epidemics of smallpox. A particularly severe famine happened on April 1232 and

1) 364, Jyeṣṭha *kṛṣṇa pratipad*; V³, 36*b*.
2) Āśvini *kṛṣṇa* 12; V³, 33*b*.
3) 366 Mārgaśira *śukla* 7: V³, 38*b*.
4) 362 *dvir*–Āṣāḍha (= Śrāvaṇa according to the Sūrya Siddhānta) *kṛṣṇa* 8, and Śrāvaṇa (*adhika*–Bhādrapada according to the Sūrya Siddhanta) *śukla pratipad*; V³, 38*b*.
5) 370 Mārgaśira *śukla* 4; V³, 38*b*.
6) 370 Śrāvaṇa *śukla* 7; V³, 39*a*.

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the following months with an appalling loss of human life; the calamity lasted a whole year [1]. Other outbreaks of famine and plague happened on January 2nd, 1242, and July 6th, 1244; as a consequence the people were greatly impoverished [2].

The chronicles register also serious earthquakes, a kind of disaster to wich Nepal is often exposed. The worst tremor happened at the end of Abhayamalla's rule, on Monday, June 7th, 1255. One third of the population perished; the king himself was fatally injured and died six days later, ending thus a long but not happy reign.

During this period Nepal was twice visited by C'ag Lotsawa C'os–rje–dpal (1197–1264), a Tibetan scholar who travelled to Magadha to visit the holy places of Buddhism and to study in the university of Nālandā, although it was already decayed and half–deserted on account of the Muslim raids. He first went to Nepal, where he stayed for eight full years, probably from 1226 to 1234 (but the chronology of his voyage is hypothetical and open to doubt). His biography supplies some interesting details on Buddhist religious life in the Valley; its main centre seems to have been Svayambhū Nāth, where Guru Ratnarakṣita was a scholar of high reputation. Also the Tham vihāra founded by Atīśa and called Dharmadhātu vihāra by the Indians, was still flourishing. The Tibetan traveller gives a graphic account of the Bugama Matsyendranāth procession, but supplies no information at all on political and social conditions in the Valley. Then he left for India, visited Bodh Gaya, Rājagṛha and Nālandā, and started on his way back, *via* Tirhut. His second stay in Nepal, where he arrived probably in 1241, was short. Some *'ba'–ro* (Bhāro; noblemen) acted as his *dānapatis* and presented him with gold and food. In 1242 he finally departed for the Yaṅ–dog monastery in Tibet [3].

1) 352 Caitra; V³, 39*b*.

2) 362 Māgha *kṛṣṇa* 5, and 364 Āṣāḍha *kṛṣṇa amāvasya*; V³, 38*a–b*.

3) G. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin* (*Chag lo–tsa–ba Chos–rje–dpal*), Patna 1959, 53–56, 101, 105. Roerich's edition is a rather slipshod piece of work and his translation is at times unreliable. See the remarks by J. W. De Jong, in *Indo–Iranian Journal*, 6 (1962), 167–173. The so–called critical edition by Champa Thupten Zongtse, New Delhi 1981, marks sometimes a regress rather than a progress. Compare e.g. such "corrections" as T'am pa'i ha ra for T'am Bi–ha–ra of the original ms.

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Jayadeva (1255–1258)

Abhayamalla was succeeded by his son Jayadeva, of whose reign two documents are extant:

1) Ms. *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, National Archives, IV.19.5. Colophon [1]: *R.-P.-śrī-Jayadeva-rājye Samvat 377 Jeṣṭha śūdi 15* || The date corresponds to May 29th, 1257.
2) Ms. once the property of Bhagvanlal Indraji. The colophon [2] is said to be dated 377 Bhādrapada, corresponding to August–September 1257.

Jayadeva was born in 324 Kārtika *kṛṣṇa* 11 (= November 1st, 1203) as the son of Abhayamalla; he died at the age of 54 in Māgha *śukla* 5 (evidently of 378 NS; = January 11th, 1258) (V^2, 34*a–b*). VK and VD allow him a reign of 2 years and 7 months, and V^1, f. 25*b*, one of 2 years and 8 months, which is approximately exact. Thus Jayadeva reigned from Āṣāḍha *śukla* 8, 375, to Māgha *śukla* 5, 378, i.e. from June 7th, 1255, to January 11th, 1258.

This was an unfortunate reign, during which Nepal suffered repeatedly from earthquake and famine (V^1, 25*b*). The modern chronicles (VL, VW, VBh) build up around him a story, in which Jayadeva appears together with a younger brother called Ānandamalla who reigned in Bhatgaon, Banepa, Panaoti, Nala, Dhulikhel etc., and is connected with events that happened respectively four and two centuries earlier. It may be a distorted recollection of prince Anantamalla and of his conflict with the *yuvarāja* in 1249.

This reign ushered in once more a gradual weakening of the monarchy, heralded in by the struggle between the two most powerful noblemen of the realm. One was Jayaśimalla, whom we have seen as active during the reign of Abhayamalla. Against him rose a rival called Jayabhīmadeva. They were based on two separate centres of power. Jayabhīmadeva was the lord of Bhonta, the region of Banepa to the east of the Valley. Jayaśihamalla was slowly building up an extensive fief around Bhatgaon. A late inscription calls his descendants the Tipura royal family (*rājakula*), this being the name of the royal palace in Bhatgaon; and for practical purposes we may accept this denomination.

The struggle between Bhonta and Tipura was enlivened by the

1) First published 1958.
2) Mentioned by Bendall, *History*, 8*n* and 25. This manuscript is no longer available.

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fact that the royal family was dying out. Jayadeva had two sons, of whom the elder Yakṣamalla, born in 1238, died at 19, i.e. in 1257; the younger Jatakeśadeva, born in 1244 (V^2, 35*a*), is never mentioned again and probably died young. The contest for the succession was open.

On Tuesday, July 27th, 1255, soon after the tragic death of Abhayamalla, Jayaśimhamalla chased away the robber baron Praha Bhāro and his son, who were looting in the Valley [1]. On the other side, on January 16th, 1256, Jayabhīmadeva of Bhonta recovered Nipikvāth, which had been seized by a chief (*pvaha*) called Jayadeva (not identical with the king) [2]. With a sudden return of energy, king Jayadeva, who hitherto had concerned himself mostly with rituals and religious festivals, tried to buttress his position by the establishment of several military posts. Inspite of this, on April 28th, 1256, Jayaśimalla was able to enter Bhatgaon [3], where he set up his residence. This date seems to mark the loss of direct control by the Nepalese monarchy over Bhatgaon; the masters of that town grew more and more autonomous, founding a principality which in 1381 was to unite the whole of the Valley under its sway.

On the night of July 31st, 1256, Jayabhīmadeva together with the Jurā Bhāro (the *yuvarāja*; possibly the prince Yakṣamalla above mentioned?) entered the state treasury, ejected the officials in charge and began to empty it systematically. On this occasion the two allies are designated as the leaders of one of the two struggling factions, the other centering upon the Bhatgaon family (Tipura *rājakula*) and the officials of Patan (Mānigal) [4]. On September 24th there was a revolt at Bahar Kvātha and Jayabhīmadeva and the *yuvarāja* were expelled. Three days later Jayaśihamalla sacked Handigaon [5]; no connection is apparent between the two events. On October 17th Jayaśihamalla entered Piṃkvāth (the fortified Piṃ Bahal in Patan), but Jayabhīmadeva and the *yuvarāja* recovered it at once [6].

1) 375 Śrāvaṇa *kṛṣṇa* 7, *maṅgala*, Bharaṇi–*nakṣatra*; V^3, 38*a*.
2) 376 Māgha *kṛṣṇa* 3; V^3, 38*a*.
3) 376 Vaiśākha *kṛṣṇa* 2; V^3, 37*a–b*.
4) 376 Śrāvaṇa *śukla* 8; V^3, 37*b*.
5) 376 Āśvini *śukla* 4 and 7; V^3, 37*a*.
6) 376 Āśvini *kṛṣṇa* 12; V^3, 37*a*.

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It seems that this inconclusive struggle abated and remained dormant during the last two years of Jayadeva. In this period we may perhaps insert a doubtful item of information concerning one "Jayantamalla, son of Jagatamalladeva, born on 374 Jyeṣṭha *kṛṣṇa* 4 (June 6th, 1254); he was *yuvarāja*; 5 years" (V³, 36*a*). It is not clear whether the span of five years refers to his *yuvarāja*–ship, to his life or both . This may have been either a last desperate attempt by Jayadeva to save the succession for a member of his family; or the child was a puppet under whose cover the struggle for the crown was waged.

To complete this tale of woe of a disastrous reign, a modern scholar places in 1258 the invasion of king Mukundasena of Palpa in the Valley [1]. But as we are going to show later (see p. 210), this is an anticipation by about three centuries of an event which in any case is surrounded by the mist of legend.

[1] Regmi, I, 239.

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CHAPTER VI

THE TIPURA AND BHONTA FAMILIES

About two months after the demise of Jayadeva, on March 19th or 20th, 1258, *rāja* Jayabhīmadeva and *yuvarāja* Jayaśimalla were encamped in the region of Palamchok. It is not clear what happened there, as the text is very obscure [1]. But the result seems to have been an agreement between the two contending parties to the effect that the Bhonta and Tripura families were to alternate on the throne, one of them by turn supplying the king and the other the *yuvarāja*. Whether this agreement was embodied in a formal act, is more than we can tell; the sources spend not a single word about it. But the existence of the pact seems to be assured, as it conditioned the whole dynastic history after 1258; it is a fact that the alternance was more or less regularly observed for about one century [2].

After 1258 there is a modification in our sources. If down to that date there is a tollerable concordance between VBd and VK and the later *vamśāvalīs*, from now on the divorce is complete. The two earlier works give a royal list which is clear enough and is supported *in toto* by the colophons and inscriptions. The modern chronicles ignore it altogether and substitute for it the list of the kings of Tirhut descended from Nānyadeva and then from Harisiṃha, who certainly did not reign in the valley or in any part of it. This is a deliberate falsification of history, promoted by the descendants of Jayasthitimalla, who wished to make out their direct ancestors to have been kings of Nepal; this official version appears already in the XVII century in an inscription of Pratāpa Malla and in the drama *Mudita–*

1) 378 Caitra *śukla* 13, Hasta *nakṣatra*, *budha*; V², 36*b*. The date is irregular; *nakṣatra* and day of the week point to the 20th, while the *tithi* ended on the 19th.

2) The credit for this suggestion goes to Th. Manandhar, "Nepal in early medieval period: gleanings from the Bendall *vaṃśāvalī*", in *JNRC*, 1 (1977), 84.

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Kuvalayāśva. Down to the reign of Jaysthitimalla we shall not have occasion to refer again to the modern *vaṃśāvalīs*.

Seven documents of Jayabhīmadeva have come down to us:

1) Ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata*, National Archives, I.1320.14. Colophon [1]: *Aśītyadhikasaṃyāte saṃvatsara–śatatraye | māsi Caitre 'site pakṣe pañcamyāṃ bhṛguvāsare || Mahāmatārcciḥpīyūṣaṃ śrīmal–Lakṣmīmataṃ hitaṃ | dhīmataḥ Saṅkhyapālasya puṇyajñānavivṛddhaye | kāyasthodayaharṣeṇa hastena likhitaṃ drutaṃ | .... M.–P.–Paramamāheśvara–Pb.–śrīmaj–Jayabhīmadeva–rājye* || The date is verified for Friday, April 2nd, 1260.
2) Inscription on a fountain in Ikhapokhri at Pharping [2]. Dated: *Samvat 381 Pauṣa–śukla–divā aṣṭamyāṃ śrī–śrī–P.–paramaśrī–śrī–Jayabhīmadevasya vijayarājye || śrī–Phanapinga–viśayādhipati–mahāsamanta–śrī–Jaitarāmajīvasya nagara* etc. The date corresponds to December 11th, 1260.
3) Ms. *Arghakāṇḍa*, National Archives, I.1606.16. Colophon [3]: *Nepālika–samvat 381 Śrāvaṇa–kṛṣṇa–ekadaśyāṃ Puṣya–nakṣatre Variyāna–yoge somadine..... | R.–P.–śrīmad–rājā–Jayabhīmadevasya vijaya–rājye* || In this year there was no Kanyā *saṅkrānti* in Bhādrapada, which gives an intercalary Āṣāḍha. The month of Śrāvaṇa of our colophon corresponds, therefore, to *adhika*–Bhādrapada in the Sūrya Siddhānta. On this basis, the date is verified for the last hours of Monday, August 22nd, 1261.
4) Ms. *Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā*, Tokyo University Library, n. 117. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 385 Aśuni–badvi–trayodaśyāṃ R.–śrī–Jayabhīmadevasya vijaya–rājye*. The date corresponds to October 8th, 1265.
5) Ms. *Mahākharavīrayāga*, National Archives, V.186. Colophon [5]: *Yadā Nepāla–bhūpāla–Jayabhīmo tidhāvati | rasa–maṅgala–samyukta–vahni* (= 386) *samvannadāpayoḥ | Kārttika–māse 'site pakṣe pañcamyāṃ guru–vāsare | Kāyasthodayaharṣeṇa ha[ste]na likhitaṃ* etc. The date is verified for the last hours of Thursday, October 15th, 1263.
6) Ms. *Kriyāsaṅgraha*, Kyoto University. Colophon [6]: *Samvat 386 Kārttika–śukla–pūrṇamasyāṃ R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayabhīmadevasya vijararājye likhitam | danapati Dhāpati Amaracandrasya ....* The date corresponds to October 25th, 1265.
7) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, Tokyo University Library, n. 230. Colophon [7]: *P.–Pb.–Paramasaugata–M.–śrī–Jayabhīmadeva–pravarddhamāna–vijayarājye | Samvat 390 Pauṣa–śukla–dvādaśyāṃ āditya–vāsare yogānukūla likhitaṃ*. The date is verified for Sunday, January 4th, 1270.

VK/VD does not mention Jayabhīmadeva at all. According to V[1], 26*a*, he reigned for 13 years and 3 months, which seems quite

1) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 124.
2) Published by Regmi, III, 12–13.
3) First published 1958.
4) Unpublished. The manuscript is listed in *CSMTUL*.
5) Published by Regmi, I, 227.
6) Unpublished. The manuscript is listed in K. Goshima and K. Noguchi, *A succinct catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the possession of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University*, Kyoto 1983, 7, n. 25.
7) Unpublished. The manuscript is listed in *CSMTUL*. The colophon is followed by a second date (Thursday, May 1st, 1505), which is apparently that of the copying.

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possible. He may thus have ruled from Māgha 378 to Caitra 391. i.e. from January 1258 to March–April 1271.

Very little is known of the events of his reign. On October 16th, 1258, Jayaśihamalla *yuvarāja*, loyally seconding his sovereign, stormed Yaukvātha in a night assault [1]. After this event he is mentioned only once, in connection with the birth of a son of his in 1261 (V^2, 36*a*). For the rest the years between 1258 and 1271 are utterly obscure to us.

Jayaśīhamalla (c. 1271–1274)

In accordance with the pact of succession, the *yuvarāja* Jayasīhamalla ascended the throne. He was born on April 19th, 1229, as the son of one Jagatanekamalla [2], whose relationship (if any) with the royal family is unknown. His rule was short and he is ignored by all the chronicles, with the single exception of V^1, 26*a*, which gives him the royal title and allows him a reign of 2 years and 7 months. There is a single colophon that may belong to his reign:

Ms. *Khaḍgapūjāvidhi*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1706.1. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 391 Āśvini* × × *[da]śaṃmyāṃ tithau aṅgāra–dine likhitam–iti* | *R.–P.–śrī–* × × × *hamāladeva–kāritaṃ* | *Śvakve–vehāra–śrī–bhikṣu–Devamanā likhitaṃ* || Śvakve is perhaps the same as Saka Vihāra, the Newari name of the Jayamanohara Vihāra in Patan, on which see p. 83. It seems evident that the name of the king must be restored as Jayasīhamalla, since it is the only royal name of this period containing the letter *ha*. The date has been wrongly restored by Bendall as 381; it can be read fairly clearly as 391. The date can be verified either for Tuesday 15th or (less completely) for Tuesday 29th September, 1271.

The wording of the colophon is odd. It does not contain the words "in the victorious reign" (*vijayarājye*), which is the usual formula, but merely alludes to a *vihāra* built by his order. However, he is given the full royal titles; and therefore we feel justified in placing this short reign in c. 391–394 (1271–1274 A.D.). Although brief, it must have been a fairly happy one; at least V^1 seems much impressed by its memory: "He did not oppress the subjects and the land was happy"; the chronicle also mentions gifts to Paśupati and other gods.

1) 379 Kārttika *kṛṣṇa* 2; V^2, 36*a*.
2) 349 Vaiśākha *kṛṣṇa* 9; V^2, 35*a*.
3) Published in *CBMC*, 199, with some wrong readings.

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Jayaśīhamalla either abdicated or was deposed, but otherwise left unharmed, because we find his successor reigning in 1275, while Jayaśīhamalla did not die until November 8th, 1287 [1].

Anantamalla (c. 1274–1308)

After Jayaśīhamalla, the throne was occupied by Anantamalla, belonging probably to another line of the family. His long reign is commemorated by twenty-four colophons (but no inscriptions):

1) Ms. *Divyaśuddhiprakaraṇa*, National Archives, V.806. Colophon [2]: *Iṣunātha tathā vahni* (= *395*) *samvat gate sati māse Caitra–śitye pakṣe navamyāṃ budha–vāsare* | *M.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrīmadAnantamalladevasya vijayarājye* | *dvijavara–śrī–dharmādhikāra–Jasabrahmasya pustakaṃ*. The date cannot be verified; the *tithi* ended on March 22nd, 1275, which day was a Friday and not a Wednesday.
2) Ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata*, National Archives, I.1320. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 398 Bhādrava śukla ekādaśyāṃ* | *R.–P.–śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye* | *Pāṅgāgrāmādhivāsina dvija–Śirapatikasya pustakaṃ siddhaṃ*. Panga is a small village to the south of Kirtipur. The date corresponds to August 29th, 1278.
3) Ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata*, National Archives, I.1320.1. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 399 Phālguṇa–śukla–navamyāyāṃ likhitaṃ* | *R.–śrī–śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye* | *Pāṅgāgrāmādhivāsina dvijavara–Śirapatikasya pustakam–idaṃ* | The date corresponds to February 21st, 1279.
4) Ms. *Ekadaśīmāhātmya*, National Archives, I.1231.6. Colophon [5]: *Samva*[*t*] *400 Phālguṇa–kṛṣṇa–ekādaśyāṃ tithau soma–vāsare śrī–Nepāladeśe śrī–Paśupati–sthāne śrī–Anantamallade*[*va*]*sya vijayarājye likhitaṃ* || Written at Paśupati Nāth. The date is irregular; the *tithi* ended at the beginning of February 26th, 1280, and the preceeding day was a Tuesday and not a Monday.
5) Ms. *Kaumārīpūjā*, National Archives, I.1320.13.3. Colophon [6]: *Samvat 400 Vaiśākha–amāvāsyā–tithau R.–P.–śrī–śrī–Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye* || The date corresponds to April 30th, 1280.
6) Ms. *Narapatijayacaryāsvarodaya*, National Archives, I.1537.3. Colophon [7]: *Samvatsare khakhābd*[*h*]*e* (= 400) *carabhasya śitapakṣage caturthyām bhṛguvāre sampūrṇṇalikhitam–idaṃ* | *śrīmatPaśupatisthāne dakṣiṇasyādiśāśrita* | *Daivajñā–Jaitasihena likhitaṃ svātmabhava* | *Samvat 400 Bhādrapada–śukla–caturthyāṃ śukravāsare śrī–Paśupatisthāne* | *śrīmadAnantamalladevasya vijayarājye śrī–Rājamaṇḍalyāṃ daivajñasya* etc. Written at Paśupati Nāth. The date is verified for Friday, August 30th, 1280.
7) Ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata*, National Archives, I.1320.13. Colophon [8]: *Samvat 401 Kārti-*

1) 408 Mārgaśira *śukla pratipad*; V³, 40*a*.
2) Published by Regmi, I, 231–232.
3) Published by Regmi, I, 232.
4) Party published in *CPMDN*, I, p. 46.
5) Published in *CPMDN*, I, p. 44.
6) Partly published in *CPMDN*, I, p. 46.
7) First published 1958.
8) Published by Regmi, I, 232.

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ka–kṛṣṇa–saptamyāyāntithau bṛhaspati–vāsare R.–śrīmadAnantamalladevasya vijayarājye | Pāṅgāgrāmādhivāsino dvija–Śiropatikasya pustakam. The place of writing and the owner of the manuscript are the same as in Doc. 2 and 3. The date is verified for November 14th, 1280.

8) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, Žva–lu monastery in Tibet, Colophon [1]: *Samvat 402 Pauṣya–kṛṣṇa–daśamyāṃ somavāsare śrī–M.–P.–Pb–śrī–śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye* || The date is verified for Monday, January 5th, 1282.

9) Ms. *Mahālakṣmīcaritra*, National Archives, I.1320. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 402 Vaiśākha–kṛṣṇa–dvadaśyāṃ pra–trayodaśyāṃ tithau likhitaṃ dine budha–vāsare | R.–P.–śrī–śrī Anantamalladeva–vijayarājye Suvarṇapanālike vāstavya–dvijavara–śrī–Buddhasena likhitaṃ | Pāṅgāgrāmādhivāsino dvijavara–śrī–Śiropati–Bharokasya pustakaṃ siddhaṃ.* The owner and his home are the same as in Doc. 2, 3 and 7. The date is verified for Wednesday, May 6th, 1282.

10) Ms. *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, Sa–skya monastery in Tibet. Colophon [3]: *M.–P.–Raghuvamśatilaka–śrīmad–Anantamalladevasya rājye likhapitam–iti samvat 402 Bhādrapada–śukla–pañcamyān–tithav–iti* || The date corresponds to August 10th, 1282.

11) Ms. *Śatasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā* (vol. II), Sa–skya monastery in Tibet. Colophon [4]: *Śrī–Nepālamaṇḍala–Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapādhivāśina Ratna–Upādhyāyena likhitaṃ | śreyo 'stu | Samvat 403 Phālguṇā–śukla–pūrṇṇamāsyāṃ śaniścara–vāsare | śrī–M.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Anantamalladevasya vijayarāje likhitaṃ pustakam–idaṃ* || Written at Kathmandu. The date is verified for Saturday, February 13th, 1283.

12) Ms. *Śatasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā* (vol. IV), Sa–skya monastery in Tibet. Colophon [5] *Samvat 403 prathamāṣāḍha–śukla–pūrṇṇamasyām śaniścara–vāsare | M.–P.–Pb.–śrīma–[d–A]nantamalladevasya vijayarājye | śrī–Nepālamaṇḍala–Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa–nāmādhivāśina upāsaka–Nārāyaṇena likhitaṃ* || Written at Kathmandu. There was no Karkaṭa *saṅkrānti* in Āṣāḍha, and this gives an intercalary Āṣāḍha according to all systems. The date is irregular; the *tithi* corresponds to June 11th, 1283, which day, however, was a Friday and not a Saturday.

13) Ms. *Śatasāhasrikā–Prajñāpāramitā* (vol. III), Sa–skya monastery in Tibet. Colophon [6]: *Śrī–Lalitapuryāṃ mahānagaryāṃ śrī–Navamlake śrīmadEndriyadevarājña–saṃskārita śrī–Yayamanoharavarṇṇa–mahāvihārādhivāśi gṛhāśrama–bhikṣvācāryakāyastha–Sugatarakhitena likhitam–idaṃ ..... || śrī–Nepāla–hāyaṇa 404 Phālguṇī–śuklapakṣe triyodaśyāntithau Magha–nakṣatre Dhṛti–yoge bṛhaspatidine likhiteti | śrīmataḥ R.–Raghuvaṃśāvatāra–śrī–śrīma[dA]nantamalla–rāje likhitam–iti.* The Jayamanohara–*mahāvihāra* is the modern Su Bahal in Patan. The date is irregular; *tithi*, *nakṣatra* and *yoga* ended on March 1st. 1284, which day, however, was a Wednesday and not a Thursday.

14) Ms. *Anantavrata*, National Archives, I.1320.3. Colophon [7]: *Samvat 405 Śrāvaṇa–kṛṣṇa–tṛtīyāyāṃ R.–P.–śrī–śrī–Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye* || The date corresponds to July 20th, 1285.

1) Published by RS, XXI, 29. Checked on a hand–copy made by Professor G. Tucci in 1939.

2) Published by Regmi, I, 232.

3) Published by RS, XXIII, 28.

4) Published by RS, XXIII, 30.

5) Published by RS, XXIII, 30.

6) Published by RS, XXIII, 30.

7) Partly published in *CPMDN*, I, 46, and then in 1958, The date was correctly read by Regmi, I, 234.

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15) Ms. *Pratiṣṭhāpaddhati*, National Archives, I.1634.8. Colophon [1]: *Yadā Nepāla-bhūpālĀnantamallabhidhāvati | rasa-abhra-samayukta-śrutiḥ* (= 406) *samvat tadā yayau | Kārtti-māse kṛṣṇapakṣe dvitīyāyāṃ kujadine.* The date is verified for Tuesday, October 16th, 1285.

16) Ms. *Kumārīpūjāvidhāna*, Kaisher Library, n. 29/B. Colophon [2]: *ŚrīmanNepālika-samvatsare 406 Mārggaśira-kṛṣṇa-ekādaśyān-tithau śaniścara-vāsare Svāti-nakṣatre Śobhana-yoge | R.-śrīmatAnantamalladevasya vijayarājye* || The date is verified for Saturday, November 24th, 1285.

17) Ms. *Sarāvalī*, British Museum Or. 1439. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 406 Caitra-śula-tṛtīyāyāṃ śukravāsare Kṛtika-nakṣatre | R.-P.-śrī-śrī-Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitaṃ* etc. There was no Vṛṣabha *saṅkrānti* in Vaiśākha, and this gives an intercalary Pauṣa. The Caitra of the colophon corresponds therefore to *adhika*-Vaiśākha of the Sūrya Siddhānta, and the date is verified for Friday, March 29th, 1286.

18) Ms. *Lakṣmyavatāra*, National Archives, I.1320.13.4. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 406 Āṣāḍha-kṛṣṇa-saptamyāṃ tithau āditya-vāsare | R.-P.-Anantamalladeva-vijayarājye.* The date is verified for July 14th, 1286.

19) Ms. *Manthānabhairavatantra*, National Archives, II.218. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 411 Phālguṇa-śukla-daśamyāṃ śaniścara-vāsare | R.-P.-Pb.-śrī-śrī [A]nantamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitam-idaṃ.* The date is verified only for the first minutes of Saturday, February 10th, 1291.

20) Ms. *Kulālikāmnāya*, National Archives, V.875. Colophon [6]: *R.-P.-Pb.-M.-śrī Anantamalladevasya vijayarājye | samvat 416 Caitra-śudi-dvitīya.* The date corresponds to March 7th, 1296.

21) Ms. *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantrapañjikā*, National Archives, III.402.3. Colophon [7]: *Samvat 417 Phālguṇa-kṛṣṇa-daśamyāṃ aṅgāra-vāsare likhanaṃ samāptam-idam-iti rājye śrīmadAnantamalladevasyeti.* There was no *saṅkrānti* in Phālguṇa, which gives an intercalary Pauṣa. The Phālguṇa of this colophon is *nija*-Phālguṇa in the Sūrya Siddhānta, and the date is verified for Tuesday, March 19th, 1297.

22) Ms. *Avadānakalpalatā*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1306. Colophon [8]: *Netrākṣyabdhiyutābdake* (= 422) *ca samaye Radhe śite pakṣake | āsāyāñca tithau divākaradine vāhadviṣaddakṣake* || ..... *rājye śrīmadAnantamalla-nṛpater* etc. The date is verified for Sunday, April 8th, 1302.

23) Ms. of Prajñākaramati's commentary to the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Ṅor monastery in Tibet. Colophon [9]: *Śrīma[d-Ā]nantamalladeva-vijayarājye | Samvat 423 Māgha-*

1) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 78.

2) First published 1958. A modern copy, under the title *Tribhūmikavidyā*, is in the National Archives, V.2231, and its colophon (identical to the present one) was published by Regmi, I, 232,

3) Published in *CSBM*, 182 n. 440.

4) Partly published in *CPMDN*, I, 46, and then in 1958. The reading of the date was corrected by Regmi, I, 235.

5) Published in *Bṛhatsūcīpatram*, IV, Kathmandu 2025 VS, 63.

6) Published by Regmi, I, 232.

7) Published in *CPMDN*, II, 94.

8) Published in *CBMC*, 43.

9) First published in 1958, although the ms. seems to be listed in RS, XXI, 37 (no. 110). From a hand-copy made by Professor G. Tucci in 1939.

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[*kṛṣṇa*]–*caturthyāyāṃ budha–vāsare likhitam–idaṃ.* The date is verified for Wednesday, February 6th, 1303.

24) Ms. *Saṅgānasāgara*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, no. 4852. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 428 Phālguna–kṛṣṇa–pratipadyāyāṃ tithau Citra–nakṣatre Dhruva–yoge śaniścara–vāsare likhitam–iti* || *R.–P.–śrī–śrīmad–A*[*na*]*ntamalladevasya vijayarājiye śrī–Yaṃ*[*bu*]*mahānagara–śrī–Śātigalakeyūrathyāyāṃ dvakocchavāstavya–daivajña–śrī–Jasadhavaladarśanena likhitaṃ* || Written at Yambu (Kathmandu North). The date is verified in all its elements for Saturday, March 9th, 1308.

Anantamalla was born in 366 Vaiśākha *śukla* 5 (= April 21st, 1246, as the son of Rājadeva (b. 348 d. 369). The latter was the son of one Aganakamal[l]adeva, of whom nothing is known and whose name seems to be misspelt. Of course we cannot say whether this family was connected in any degree with the dynasty of Arimalla, although the ending Malla seems to point in that direction . Anantamalla reigned for 35 years and 11 months, dying in Śrāvaṇa *kṛṣṇa* 13, one year later than his retreat to Bhonta in 427 (V^2, 35*a*). This places his death on August 14th, 1308. Thus a regnal period of almost 36 years is definitely too long; the 32 years and 10 months allowed to him by other chronicles (V^1, 26*a*; VK/VD) seem nearer to the truth. Anantamalla ruled from c. 394 to 427 NS, i.e. 1274–1308 A.D.

During the first part of his reign Anantamalla was a contemporary of Qubilai Khan, the great ruler of China and suzerain of the Mongol states and of Tibet. It is a curious fact that most of Anantamalla's documents belong to this period, and that they seem to reveal a particularly close connection with Tibet, where the Sa–skya–pa had just consolidated their rule by the favour and under the protection of Qubilai. As far as we can tell, there was no direct intercourse between the king of Nepal and the Mongol court during this period [2]. But Nepalese art, then at its height, penetrated in the

1) Published in *CSMASB*, XIV, 38–41, no. 61.

2) P. Pelliot, *Les grands vayages maritimes chinois au début du XVe siècle*, in *T'oung Pao*, 30 (1933), drew attention to the biography of the Uighur Yiġmiš (I–hei–mi–shih 亦黑迷矢), one of the three generals who in 1292 led the expedition to Java. In this text (*Yüan–shih*, 131, 19*b*–20*a*) we are told that in 1272 Yiġmiš was sent to the country of Pa–lo–po 八羅芬 beyond the seas (*hai–wai* 海外), whence he came back in 1274 with some men of that country bearing jewels as a gift to the emperor. In 1275 he was again sent to Pa–lo–po, and he brought from there a Buddhist "master

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Tibetan monasteries and temples [1]. Besides the colophons, we have also Chinese evidence on this score. In 1260 Qubilai had ordered the Sa-skya abbot 'P'ags-pa, his spiritual teacher, to erect a golden *stūpa* in T'u-fan, a term which in the official usage of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty designated Amdo, i.e. north-eastern Tibet. 'P'ags-pa summoned artists from Nepal for this purpose. The king of that country (at that time Jayabhīmadeva) collected 80 artisans and selected to lead them A-ni-ko 阿尼哥 (1245-1306) [2], a descendant (*chou* 胄) of the royal family of Nepal. In spite of his youth, he was al-

of the realm" (*kuo-shih* 國師). Pelliot suggested that Pa-lo-po is Bal-po, the Tibetan name for Nepal (spelt as Pa-lu-po 八魯布 in the biography of A-ni-ko), and that Yiġmiš came there by sea, i.e. through South-East Asia and Bengal. But I fail to see how and why Yiġmiš should call Nepal by its Tibetan name, if he came there by the route of Bengal and Bihar and thus did not come into contact with Tibetans at all. Besides, the expression *hai-wai* is normally used in connection with countries in South-East Asia; and this is where we should look for Pa-lo-po, the more so as it appears that Yiġmiš was exclusively employed in that quarter.

1) On the whole problem of Nepalese influence on painting and sculpture in Tibet sce G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, 272-280.

2) The chief source for A-ni-ko and his family is his funeral inscription, which was engraved on a stele and erected on the pathway to his tomb near the village of Hsiang-shan 香山 in the district of Yüan-p'ing 宛平, West of Peking. It was composed by Ch'êng Chü-fu 程鉅夫 (*tzu*: Wên-hai 文海; 1249-1318) and is reproduced in his *Hsüeh-lou-chi* 雪樓集 (Ming edition, 7, 10*a*-11*b*). It is summarized, with many serious omissions, in A-ni-ko's official biography in the *Yüan-shih*, 203, 11*b*-12*b*, translated (except for the ending portion) by S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, III, 187-189. The standard study on A-ni-ko is that by M. Ishida, *Gendai no kōgeika Nepāru no ōzoku Anika no den ni tsuite* (On the biography of A-ni-ko, artist and member of the Nepalese royal family during the Yüan dynasty), originally published in *Mōko Gakuhō*, 2 (1941), reprinted in M. Ishida, *Tōa bunkashi sōkō* (Studies in the cultural history of Eastern Asia), Tokyo 1973, 371-394. A-ni-ko is the correct form of the name, as attested by the funeral inscription and by the early editions of the *Yüan-shih*. For the erroneous forms A-êrh-ni-ko (late editions of the *Yüan-shih* and other works of the 18th century; also S. Lévi) and A-ni-ko-ni (*Hsin Yüan-shih* and Chiang Liang-fu's *Li-tai-ming-jên-li-pei-ch'uan-tsung-piao*, Shanghai 1937, 242) see P. Pelliot, *Les statues en "laque sèche" dans l'ancien art chinois*, in *J.As.*, 1923, I, 194*n*. The Indian (not Sanskrit) equivalent seems to be Anigo, which occurs as the name of one of the Eighty-four Siddhas: P. Pelliot, *loc. cit.* Another name of that Siddha is Anaṅga (G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 228), of which Anigo may be only a dialectal form. A-ni-ko's funeral inscription gives the name of his father as La-k'o-na 臘可納 and of his grandfather as Mi-ti-êrh 密迪邇; I am unable to trace their Indian originals.

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ready an accomplished bronze-caster. He carried out his task with such a success, that 'P'ags-pa persuaded him to follow him to China, where he entered the employ of Qubilai. A-ni-ko cast many statues for the Buddhist monasteries of Shang-tu (Dolon-nor) and Ta-tu (Peking). In 1274 he became general director of all the workers in bronze, and in 1278 he was appointed controller of the imperial manifactures [1]. His favour continued and increased till his death, which happened in the 10th year of Ta-te, intercalary 1st month, day *ting-you* (= March 11th, 1306) [2]. He was cremated in the Nepalese style and was granted the postumous name of Min-hui 敏慧 and several titles, foremost among which that of duke of Liang 凉. A-ni-ko had married first a Nepalese lady called Tsai-yeh-ta-la-ch'i-mei 宰葉荅臘奇美 (Jayadalakṣmī); but then he followed the custom of the court at which he lived and took a Mongol lady as another chief wife, and seven secondary wives. Besides eight daughters, he had six sons, two of whom followed in the official footsteps of their father [3]; but none of them achieved fame. The real continuator of his school and his chief pupil was the Chinese Liu Yüan 劉元 [4]. The tradition of A-ni-ko lasted for a long time among the Buddhist sculptors in China, and is still upheld in the introduc-

1) For a possible seal of A-ni-ko see S. Hasumi, in *Tōhōgaku*, 35 (January 1968), 83-97. A work of A-ni-ko is still extant in the Jo-bo-k'aṅ, the so-called cathedral of Lhasa; A. Grünwedel, *Die Tempel von Lhasa*, Heidelberg 1919, 56. In the *rGya-Bod yig-ts'aṅ* (Gangtok ms.) of 1434 A-ni-ko appears under the name E-ner-dga' (f. 171*a*).

2) At the date of his death he is expressly stated to have been 62 years old; this places his birth (counting in the Chinese fashion) in 1245. Ishida, *op. cit.*, 375-378), maintains that this is a mistake, because he was 17 when he met 'P'ags-pa in 1260, which means that he was born in 1244. But 1260 is not the date of the meeting; it is that of the imperial mandate to 'P'ags-pa for the construction of the *stūpa*. What with 'P'ags-pa receiving the mandate and informing the king of Nepal, with the latter collecting the 80 artisans and sending them to Tibet, with A-ni-ko at last arriving in T'u-fan, we may be fairly certain that another year had passed and that A-ni-ko came to the presence of 'P'ags-pa in 1261.

3) The first-born was A-seng-ko 阿僧哥 (Asaṅga), who maintained the salary of a Controller; he is mentioned under the dates of 1310 and 1313; F. W. Cleaves, in *HJAS* 17, 15-16. His brothers were A-shu-la 阿朮臘, who became Director General of the artisans of all classes, and *daruġaci*; A-ch'u-ko 阿出哥; A-p'o-ko 阿珀哥; A-k'ai-ya 阿凱牙; and A-ch'i-la 阿赳臘.

4) On whom see P. Pelliot, *Op. cit.*, 195-197.

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tion to a late iconometric treatise, the *Tsao-hsiang-tu-liang-ching* 造像度量經 [1].

A-ni-ko was in the main a contemporary of Anantamalla; but it is vain to expect him to be mentioned in Nepalese chronicles, inscriptions or colophons. In any case, his story helps to reveal the existence of fairly close relations between Nepal and the great monasteries of Tibet during the late 13th century.

As hinted above, 18 out of Anantamalla's 24 documents are crowded in the seven years between 1279 and 1286, after which only six isolated colophons fill the last twenty-four years of his reign. This statistically remarkable fact is possibly connected with the severe invasions from the West and South which Nepal was just then enduring; the troubled times were not propitious to the work of the pious scribes. The facts concerning these foreign invasions are as follows.

In December 1287 or January 1288 the Khasiyā king Jayatāri entered Nepal and paid his respects to Svayambhū Nāth. All the country people fled to the forests; because of this the Khasiyā withdrew and the inhabitants returned happily to their homes [2]. On March 6th, 1289, Jayatāri came for a second time. He burnt several villages, then he went to Svayambhū Nāth, visited the Lokeśvara shrine of Buṅmati and propitiated Paśupati Nāth [3]. On February 26th, 1290 the Khasiyā king entered Nepal for the third time, taking Nuvakoth on his march. He offered rich presents in the Buṅmati shrine and entered Gwanla (Deo Patan) from the West by way of Dhākā. After this he put some villages to the torch. He stayed for one month at the castle of Patan, which he destroyed before decamping [4].

The invading king belonged to the Khasa dynasty, who ruled over Western Nepal from its capital Seṃja and claimed also some sort of suzerainty over Western Tibet. They are fairly well known

1) Taishō, n. 1419; vol. XXI, 939*a*.

2) 408 Pauṣa; V1, 26*b*.

3) 409 Phālguṇa *śukla* 13; V1, 26*b*. VK gives the date 414 for the second invasion, which is a palpable mistake for 410.

4) V3, 40*a*. The text is difficult and the translation is uncertain. On Jayatāri's inroads see Dh. Bajracharya, "Karṇālī-pradeś ko itihās ek jhalak", in *Pūrṇimā*, 6 (2022 NS), 22, 23, and in B. P. Sresthi (ed.), *Karṇālī-pradeś ek biṭo adhyayan*, Jumla 2028 NS, 25–27.

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from the Dullu inscription of Pṛthivimalla dated 1357 and from various Tibetan texts [1]. Our Jayatāri appears as Jitārimalla in the Dullu inscription and as Dzi-dar-smal or 'Ji-t'ar-smal in the Tibetan texts, and was the first of these rulers to bear the name-ending Malla.

After Jitārimalla and his mountaineers from the West, another enemy appeared from the South. In December 1291 the Tirhutiyā (i.e. the people from Tirhut or Mithilā, the kingdom of the descendants of Nānyadeva and Rāmasiṃha) entered Nepal and penetrated as far as Bhatgaon [2]. This was apparently a passing raid. Much more serious was the expedition they launched nine years later, once more against Bhatgaon. On January 22nd, 1300, " the Ḍoya attacked Asanimaṃ (unknown) and built around it some stockades. On February 18th the Ḍoya were victorious in combat and approached Tipura and Asanimaṃ. On Thursday, February 25th, starting from a place called Khaṇḍakhurī they occupied Khāpiṃṭhalī and Mitili (unknown) and attacked the town of Bhatgaon. On the following day they attempted to enter the Canigal ward, which in the end they occupied. In Bādyaṃnimaṃ and(?) the Bakhuri Bahi seven Ḍoya were killed, and three more in Tyaṃkhaḍol (Tekhaco Tol, in the south-western portion of Bhatgaon). After this, they took Baluṃkha Jaladhunī (?) and entered Brahmapur (southern outskirts of the town) as well . They inflicted a fine upon Tipura; Ma[he]ndrapāla (unknown) exacted from the subjects three *dām* for each *ropnī* of land and four *dām* for each house; and the Ḍoya were satisfied. On March 27th the Ḍoya departed for their country. The summons and invitation to the Ḍoya had been the work of Paṇḍita Jayaju of Salche (a ward in Bhatgaon), of Jayaśaktideva of Banepa and of Anantamalladeva " [3].

The last sentence sounds like a stern accusation by the chronicler, who was closely connected with the Tipura family. It means that the house of Bhonta and their puppet-king Anantamalla, with the traitorous support of a Brahman from Bhatgaon, had called in

1) G. Tucci, *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal* (S.O.R., X, 1), Rome 1956, chiefly 46–71; L. Petech, " Ya-ts'e, Gu-ge, Pu-raṅ; a new study ", in *CAJ* 24 (1980), 85–111.

2) 411 Māgha; V1, 26*b*; VK.

3) The dates are: 420 Pauṣa *amāvasya*; Māgha *kṛṣṇa* 12; Phālguṇa *śukla* 5, Bharaṇi-*nakṣatra*, *bṛhaspati* (verified); Caitra *śukla* 7; V3, 40*b*–41*a*. Cf. Dh. Bajracharya, " Ḍoyaharu ko hun? ", in *Pūrṇimā*, 4 (2021 VS), 21–22.

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the foreigners to contrive the ruin of the rival family. This requires some discussion, in order to explain a situation which allowed repeated foreign invasions to devastate the country, without the Nepalese being able to offer a concerted opposition.

Of the two contending families, that of Tipura, headed by Jayasīhamalla's son Jayatuṅgamalla (b. 1265 d. 1312) [1], was for the moment out of power. The house of Bhonta was represented at first by Jayādityadeva (b. 1238 d. 1293), the elder son of king Jayabhīmadeva. It is highly probable that he had engineered the deposition or abdication of Jayasīhamalla and the accession of Anantamalla as a puppet ruler, because upon the coronation of the latter in 1275 Jayādityadeva was appointed *yuvarāja* and thus became the second man in the realm. But his family was not without its internal problems. Almost at once, Jayādityadeva found himself at loggerheads with his younger half-brother Jayānandadeva, whom he imprisoned at Palamchok (V[1], 26*b*). It was only after the death of Jayādityadeva that the prisoner could free himself "by his own power" (August 1st, 1293), only to be imprisoned once more by his nephew, who came to Palamchok for this purpose [2].

Jayāditya's widow Virammādevī did much to foster Nepalese art. In January 1294 she founded the Aindrakūṭa, i.e. the beatiful Indreśvara temple at Panaoti, one of the earliest existing structures of Nepal [3]. At some time after 1297 she "had the image of the bull and the flagstaff of the shrine of Paśupati Nāth plated with gold; it had been erected by Kapatīya Gaṇapati, who had come from Gauḍa"; V[1], 27*a*. It has been suggested that this referred to a visit by king Gaṇapati (1198–1257) of the Kākatīya dynasty of South India, travelling through Gauḍa (North Bengal), and that Virammādevī belonged to the Kākatīya family [4]. Of course this is a mere hy-

1) According to V[2], 36*a*, Jayatuṅgamalla was born in 386 Mārgaśira *kṛṣṇa* 6, Pūrvāṣāḍha–*nakṣatra*, Prīti–yoga, *candravāra*; this date can be verified only if we correct Pūrvāṣāḍha into Pūrvaphalguṇa; it is Monday, November 30th, 1265. He died at the age of 46 years and 5 months in Jyeṣṭha *śukla*, 6, *ādityavāra*, in the morning. The year should be 1312, but the date cannot be verified, as the *tithi* ended in the morning of Saturday, May 13th, and not on Sunday.

2) 413 Śrāvaṇa *śukla* 13; V[3], 40*a*.

3) 414 Māgha; V[1], 26*b*–27*a*. See M. S. Slusser, «Indreśvara Mahādeva, a thirtteenth-century Nepalese shrine», in *Artibus Asiae*, 41 (1979), 195–218.

4) Th. Manandhar, «Nepal and South India», in *CNS*, 2/1 (1975), 119–122.

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pothesis, although it would fit very well in the frame of the unmistakable South Indian influence that developped in that period.

Jayāditya's son Jayaśaktideva was still a young lad at the time of his father's demise. He was born on May 5th, 1276 and died at the age of 39 years and 5 months on October 5th, 1315 [1]. It seems that at first there was some amount of concord between Bhatgaon and Banepa, because in 1297 Jayaśaktideva of Bhonta and Jayatuṅgamalla of Yuthonimaṃ (apparently at that time the seat of his house in or near Bhatgaon) together attacked Svaṃkhā (Sankhu?); it was taken after five days (V³, 40*b*). This is the last mention we find of Jayatuṅgamalla, and for the moment the house of Tipura sunk again into obscurity. Its worst moment was probably the Ḍoya conquest of Bhatgaon prompted by the Bhonta faction. After the withdrawal of the Tirhutia it appears that the Tipura palace was again occupied by the family, but the country was not at peace. On April 20th, 1303, there was fighting at Ḍyamagu (unknown), Tipura and Mānigal (i.e. Patan) [2]. On March 31st, 1304, there was a rebellion centered in the castle of Bakhāceṃ [3]. On March 24th, 1305, the Banepa forces apparently attempted to take Bhatgaon, because on that day "there was an expedition from Asanimaṃ against Tipura; Jayaśaktideva took part in it and fifty men were killed" [4]. We are not told what was the final result. On July 6th of the same year it was Bhatgaon which took the initiative; the town of Phanpiṅ (Pharping) was taken and put to the torch [5]. In retaliation, on July 24th the Banepa men attacked Cocheṃ (a ward of Bhatgaon); but the fighting men of Bhatgaon carried out a sally through Vidyapīṭha [6]. When on December 13th, 1306, a rebellion broke out in the castle of Baṃpyācheṃ, within one day Jayaśaktideva took the castle and repressed the outbreak [7].

This long series of clashes seemed to usher in a slow recovery

1) Born 396 *kṛṣṇa* 6 and died [436] Kārttika *śukla* 6 (this month is *adhika*–Kārttika in the Sūrya Siddhānta); V², 36*a*.

2) 423 Vaiśākha *śukla* 3; V³, 41*a*.

3) 424 Caitra *badi* 10; V³, 41*a*.

4) 425 Caitra *kṛṣṇa* 14; V³, 42*a*.

5) 425 Āṣāḍha *śukla* 14; V³, 41*b*.

6) 425 Śrāvaṇa *śukla* 2; V³, 41*b*. From a document (see p. 161) we learn that the Vidyapīṭha–dvāra was one of the entrances of the Tripura palace.

7) 427 Pauṣa *śukla* 8; V³, 41*b*.

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of the power of Tipura. At a certain point either Anantamalla grew sick of his position as powerless figurehead, or else the old puppet king had become useless for his protector, who discarded him. Whatever the reason, on August 6th, 1307, Anantamalla spontaneously took out all the contents of his treasury chest and offered them to Paśupati Nāth, did the same with the temple treasures of Bhatgaon, and departed for Bhonta. This flight had the consequence that Bhonta was deprived of her share of income derived from Gwanla (Deo Patan, and Central Nepal in general) [1]. Still, Anantamalla continued to be recognized as the rightful ruler, as shown by his Doc. 24. One year later, on August 14th, 1308, he died at Banepa; during four days it was impossible to perform his funeral ceremony, until they were carried out at the Rājadīpa in Deo Patan [2].

The retreat and death of Anantamalla meant the disappearance of a powerless, but still respected figurehead, and ushered in a serious and long–protracted crisis, soon to be complicated by foreign intervention. The reaction of the Tipura house was immediate, energetic and successful. On April 19th, 1308, and in the following months Jayatuṅgamalla of Tipura took Hripyakvāth, Navaliṅgakvāth and Nuvakvāth to the West of the valley. Banepa itself was conquered, at least for a moment [3]. Jayaśaktideva did not dare, in his weakened position, to usurp the vacant throne, and in the following months he felt himself so insecure, that he took a fateful step: he called in again the Tirhutias. Their intervention marked the climax in the ruinous struggle between the two rival houses.

On March 4th, 1311, "the Ḍoya occupied a part of Patan, from Ṭhaṃṭhibiṃ (?) to Mānigal. They destroyed the image of the deity at the Gajuhri fountain and made prisoners the Brahmans and all the local noblemen (*pātra*); they also destroyed the castle. After this, they recovered from the Nepalese subjects the war expenses in the form of a fine. Several building were set on fire. Vetanadeva, Jaya–śaktideva, Meghacandra and the Dhvākā Rāut were summoned (i.e. were given protection) by the Ḍoya. The calling–in of the Ḍoya had

1) 427 Śrāvaṇa *śukla* 7; V³, 42*a*. There was no Siṃha *saṅkrānti* in Bhādrapada and Āṣāḍha was intercalary; this Śrāvaṇa corresponds to *adhika*–Bhādrapada in the Sūrya Siddhānta.

2) [428] Śrāvaṇa *kṛṣṇa* 13; V³, 42*a*.

3) 428 Caitra *kṛṣṇa*, 13; V³, 42*b*.

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been the work of Jayaśaktideva" [1]. But if the invasion had met with little resistance, it was not so easy to get rid of these selfish helpers. On Sunday, October 24th, 1311, "all the temples were burnt and destroyed. At that time Jayaśaktideva gave over (? text obscure) all the subjects to the Ḍoya (?). In November the whole treasury of Deo Patan began to be taken off in twenty–one instalments. After this they started (?) in the direction of Sāṅgā. Some men from Banepa as far as Tari (?) were killed. On March 1st, 1312, the Ḍoya commanders ceased to exercise their rule and started back for home" [2].

In this account of the invasion the name of the leader of the Tirhut army does not appear. However, it is known that Caṇḍeśvara, a minister of king Harasiṃha of Tirhut, claimed to have conquered Nepal, to have uprooted the kings of the Raghu lineage and to have touched the image of Paśupati [3]. In another text he claims to gave vanquished the ruler of Nepal and to have performed the *tuḷāpuruṣa* sacrifice on the banks of the Vāgvatī (Bagmati) in November 1314 [4]. This seems to imply that it was Caṇḍeśvara who ruled a portion of Central Nepal in 1311–1312, as Tirhutia governor of Patan. Apparently the *tūlapuruṣa* sacrifice was performed outside the Valley somewhere in the Tarai, atfer his retreat from Patan.

Anyhow, the foreign occupation of the old capital and perhaps of other parts of the Valley had lasted one full year and left the country exhausted and impoverished. At least, the sorely tried land was spared another trial soon after, because the arrival of another foreign king in the wake of the Tirhutia invasion was more in the nature of a peaceful pilgrimage. In 1312 the Khasa king Ripumalla had visited Buddha's birthplace Lumbinī in the Tarai, where he and his son and heir Saṅgrāmamalla eternized their names in two graffitoes

1) 431 Māgha *kṛṣṇa* 14; V³, 42*b*–43*a*; VK.

2) The dates are: 432 Kārttika *śukla* 12, Uttarabhādra–*nakṣatra*, *āditya* (verified); Kārttika *kṛṣṇa* ? (the digit for the day cannot be read); Phālguṇa *śukla* 8; V³, 43*a*. On this invasion see Dh. Bajracharya, "Ḍoyaharu ko hun?", 25–28.

3) Verses in the *Kṛtyaratnākara*: *CSMASB*, III, 698–699. A list of the conquests by king Harasiṃha, which includes Nepal, is given by Caṇḍeśvara in his introduction to the *Kṛtyacintāmaṇi*.

4) Śaka 1236 Mārgaśira *śukla*; *Vivādaratnākara*, quoted in *Pūrṇimā*, 4 (2021 VS), 30. On Caṇḍeśvara see Tarachand Mishra, "Gaṇeśvar tathā Simrāungaḍh kā mantrī ra purohitaharu", in *Ancient Nepal*, 14 (July 1973), 35–42.

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on the Aśoka pillar. On February 22nd, 1313, "Ripumalla entered Nepal. He took a ceremonial bath at the Buṅga shrine of Matsyendra Nāth, to which he made some presents. He propitiated the Lord of Deo Patan (i.e. Paśupati Nāth) and offered *pūjā* at Svayambhū Nāth. After eighteen days he departed" [1]. It has been suggested that Ripumalla had been called in by the Tipura faction as a counterbalance to the Tirhutia [2]. It is nothing more than a brilliant hypothesis; in any case, the help arrived one full year too late.

At that time one fact was quite evident: the complete collapse of the central power in Nepal. The monarchy still supplied a nominal head of the state, whose authority, however, was almost nil. The agreement for alternance on the throne had broken down and actual power was disputed between the two houses of Tipura and Bhonta. The local feudatories too enjoyed a large amount of autonomy, foremost among them the *mahārāvut* of Pharping and the chief of Nuvakoth But even at Patan royal authority had almost vanished; the religious (or rather sacral) capital Deo Patan carried no political weight. The future belonged to whoever would prove the strongest.

After the Tirhutia occupation new figures came to the fore in the two main families. Jayaśaktideva, weakened and probably diminished in prestige after his repeated dealings with the Tirhutia, is no longer mentioned in the chronicles and is supposed to have died in October 1315. Jayatuṅgamalla of Tipura had died in 1312, being succeeded by his young son Jayarudramalla. The latter was born in 416 Mārgaśira *kṛṣṇa* 13, Anurādha–*nakṣatra*, Śula–*yoga*, *aṅgāra* [3]; the date is verified for the early hours of Tuesday, December 6th, 1295, except for the *yoga*, which ended on December 10th. He died on 446 *prathama*–Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* (June 16th, 1326), without leaving

1) 433 Phālguṇa *kṛṣṇa* 12; V³, 43*a*. See Dh. Bajracharya, "Karṇāli-pradeś ko itihās ko ek jhalak", in *Pūrṇimā*, 6 (2022 VS), 24, and "Karṇālī pradeś ko aitihāsik rūprekhā", in B. P. Sresth (ed.), *Karṇāli pradeś, ek bhiṭo adhyayan*, Jumla 2028 VS, 30–31. Cf. L. Petech, in *CAJ* 24 (1980), 93–94.

2) Dh. Bajracharya and T. B. Srestha, *Nuvākoṭ ko aitihāsik rūprekhā*, Kathmandu 2032 VS, 32–33.

3) V³, 40*a*. The ms. has Mārgaśira *śukla*, but the verification shows that *śukla* must be a mistake for *kṛṣṇa*. On the whole problem see the chronological study by Deviprasad Bhandari, "Rudramalla ra unko janmatithi", in *Pūrṇimā*, 1 (2021 VS), 8–13.

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male issue [1]. The old chronicle (V^3) gives him quite correctly a life-span of 30 years and 8 months.

On November 14th, 1311, an expedition started from Banepa by way of Nala towards Tipura (perhaps in collusion with the Tirhutia commanders of Patan), and the Bhatgaon people fled away; this is said to have happened during the reign (*vijayarājye*) of Jayarudramalla and of his mother Padumalladevī [2]; the latter, an iron-willed lady, proved herself a tower of strength for the still unripe young prince. The term *vijayarājya*, usually the mark of an independent ruler, implies that during the Tirhutia occupation of Patan Jayarudramalla was recognized as the de-facto king, at least at Bhatgaon. After the retreat of the Tirhutia and after the short visit by the Khasa king, on Friday, April 20th, 1313, Jayarudramalla went to Patan and performed regularly the procession of Matsyendra Nāth to Canigal; he stayed in the town for ten days and put to death five leading noblemen [3]. In other words, he took possession of the old capital Patan and eliminated the heads of the opposition. This was indeed the turning point; henceforward actual power in the Valley belonged to the Tipura house, under whichever form they chose to wield it.

Jayānandadeva (c. 1313–1320)

At this moment Nepal had been for five years without a legitimate ruler and it was necessary to put an end to this long interregnum. Although the chronicle says not a single word about it, we may suppose that, inspite of his success, Jayarudramalla preferred to restore peace by entering into a compact with the rival house of Bhonta. The head of the latter, Jayaśaktideva, was possibly still alive, but perhaps in bad health or utterly disqualified by his dealing with the Tirhutia. Anyhow, it was not he, but his aged uncle Jayānandadeva who was nominated as the new king. As we have seen, he had been imprisoned by his brother in 1275, had freed himself in 1293 and was imprisoned again almost immediately at Palamchok, where he continued to reside even after he ascended the throne. At

1) V^1, 27*b*; V^3, 46*b*. A child born to him shortly before his death survived him for a few days only.

2) 432 Mārgaśira *śukla* 13; V^3, 43*b*.

3) 433 Vaiśākha *śukla* 9, *śukra* (verified); V^3, 43*a*.

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that time he must have been at least 50–55 years old. There was not question of a *puṣyābhiṣeka* and it seems that Jayarudramalla just tollerated him. The chronicles limit themselves to the dry remark "in the meantime Jayānandadeva was king" [1].

We have four documents of his reign:

1) Inscription at the Sarasvatī temple, east of the temple of the Bālakumārī in Sasukhel near Patan [2]. Damaged on the right side. It contains the following elements: Dated [*Vaiśā*]*kha–kṛṣṇa aṣṭamyāṃ ghaṭi 3 ve navamyāṃ* .... [*Śatābhisaj–na*]*kṣatre ghaṭi 14 pra Pūrvabhadra–nakṣatraḥ vai ghaṭi* .... *Niṣkaṃbha–yogaḥ budhavāsare* etc.; *Vaiśākha–māse samite tithi śate catuḥ caturtriṃśakāle* etc.; *rāja* .... *takāmamūrtti śrī–śrīmat Jayānanda–nṛpa–prabhṛte* etc.; *śrī–Jotakarāma śrī–Jagarāma*... The date is verified for Wednesday, May 8th, 1314.
2) Inscription on a fountain near the temple of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in Deo Patan [3]. Dated *Samvat 437 Phālaguna badi 2* .... *R.–śrī–śrī–śrī–Jayānandadevasya dharmavijaṃ bhavati* | *Raghuvaṃsāvatāra–śrī–śrī–Jayarudramalladevasya labdhavariṣa–rājyaṃ bhavati.* The date corresponds to February 28th, 1317.
3) Ms. *Nāgānandanāṭaka*, National Archives, I.1583.3. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 438 Phālguni–badi 15 śukradine śrī–liṣiti* ..... | *śrī–śrī–R.–Paramadhārmika–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayānandadeva–aiśvarasya vijayarājye* | *śrī–Mānigala–Yothakocchem Arabhimasyā likhitaṃ* | Written at Patan in the Yotha Bahi, *alias* Jayaśrī–*mahāvihāra*. The date is verified for Friday, March 3rd. 1318.
4) Ms. *Śanaiścarastotra*, National Archives, III.96.1. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 438 Śrāvaṇa–*[6]*sukla–pratipadyāṃ tithau Asileṣa–nakṣatre Variyānayoge śukravāsare Śimharāsigate sāvitari Karkkaṭarāsi–gate candramasi* | *R.–P.–śrī–śrī–Jayānandadevasya vijayarājye* | .... *likhapitaṃ Kesabrahma–Mūlamīkena svārtha–parārtha–hetumā* ..... | *likhitaṃ dvija–śrī–Jetarāmasūra–sramena* (= *śarmanā*) || In this year there was no Siṃha *saṅkrānti* in Śrāvaṇa, and this caused an intercalary Āṣāḍha. Thus the month here intended corresponds to *nija*–Śrāvaṇa of the Sūrya Siddhānta. The date is verified in all its numerous elements for the morning of Friday, July 28th, 1318.

These documents show that Jayānandadeva was recognized as legitimate king in Patan, at Deo Patan and probably in the rest of the country. This pale figure, a non–entity on the throne, continued to reside at Palamchok, and his son Jayarājadeva was born there. While the Bhonta house enjoyed the empty title of royalty, real power was vested for moment in the Tipura family. Their mutual relation is best expressed in Doc. 2, which evidences the sacral hingship (*dharma-*

1) V[1], 27*a*; VK.
2) Published in AS, 2 (2018 VS), 15–16. Less good edition in Regmi, III, 1617.
3) Published in *Saṃskṛta Sandeś*, 2 (2019 VS), fasc. 1–3; in *Pūrṇimā*, 1 (2021 VS), 11*n* and 2 (2021 VS), 9; in *Sandhipatra–saṅgraha*, 204; and in Regmi, III, 17–18.
4) Partially published in *CPMDN*, I, 73; also in *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa* 2. 1–3.
5) First published 1958.
6) *Śrāvaṇa* was preceded by the word *prathama*, which had been deleted.

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vijaya) of Jayānandadeva and the actual rule (*rājya*) of Jayarudramalla. Doc. 3 too, with its titles *paramadhārmika* and *aiśvara* indicates that Jayānanda's role was limited to religion and the ritual sphere.

During the following few years as well the old chronicle knows only Jayarudramalla as the effective head of the state. Thus on April 9th, 1315, he besieged the castle of Gokarṇa, which resisted for a month and was not taken until Friday, May 9th [1]. In a year and month which cannot be read any more because the figures have faded away, Jayarudramalla drove out Tejapāla Bhāro of Kvāchem; V[3], 44*a–b*. In November 1317 he led an expedition against the rebel feudatory of Nuvakoth (see later). In October 6th, 1319, he caused the castle of Rājagrāma to be built, calling upon the help of the three *mahāpātra* (town headmen) of Patan [2].

Having thus consolidated his grasp over the whole of Nepal, Jayarudramalla apparently saw no further reason for keeping the compact with the family of Bhonta; and in 1320 he withdrew his recognition from Jayānandadeva. The deposed king remained unmolested in Bhonta; we do not know whether he still kept the empty royal title. In the chronicle he is mentioned only once again, when on April 22nd, 1328, he came to the Valley to partecipate in some religious ceremonies at Deo Patan and Mānigal (Patan) [3]. He may have died soon after.

Jayārimalla (1320–1344)

The new king too was a mere puppet in the hands of the Tipura kingmaker. As the chronicle says: "Immediately after, by the authority (*prabhutena*) of Jayarudramalla his own relative (*sva–kuṭumba*) Jayārimalla was crowned" [4].

Three colophons of this reign are extant:

1) Ms. *Mahārāvaṇavādhanāṭaka*, National Archives, III.362.8. Colophon [5]: *Pātra–śrī–*

1) Dates: 435 Vaiśākha *śukla* 5 and Jyeṣṭha *śukla* 5 *śukra* (verified); V[3], 43*b*.

2) Āśvini *kṛṣṇa* 7; V[3], 43*b*–44*a*.

3) 448 Vaiśākha *śukla* 13; V[3], 45*b*.

4) V[1], 27*a–b*; VK. The term *sva–kuṭumba* gives some support to the identification of Aganakamalla and Jagatanekamalla, the forefathers of these rulers. In this case, Jayārimalla and Jayarudramalla would have been second cousins.

5) Published in *CPMDN*, II, p. 25.

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Jayaśihamallavarmmanāḥ [1] *kutūhalapūraṇāya* – ..... *Saptapañcaśatādhika–caturaśata* | *śreyo 'stu* | *samvat 457 Śrāvaṇa–kṛṣṇa–dvādaśyām Puṣya–nakṣatre Parigha–yoge śaniścara–vāsare pustakam–idam samāptam–iti* | *Pb.–P.–Paramavaiṣṇava–Paramadevatādhideva–paramamāheśvara–raghukulatilaka–bhūpālaparaṃparāpariṇamitamauliśiṣa Paśupatipādāravinda–śrī–Pasupatidevatā–varalabdha–prasādaika–M.–saprakriyarāja–rājendra–śrī–Jayārimalladevanāmavijayarāje Nepāla–maṇḍale* ..... *Uttaravihāra–kuṭumbodbhava–śrī–Hnola–vihāre pradhānāṅga–mahāpātra–śrī–Jayaśihamallavarmmanaḥ sattvārthahetunā svahastena likhitaṃ* || Written at Patan. The date is completely verified for Saturday, August 23r , 1337.

2) Ms. *Vināyakastavarāja*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 10723. Colophon [2]: *Saṃvacchalānāṃ graha–bāna tathā yuga* (= 459) *Phālguna–tama–pakṣe pañcamyāṃ tithau śrī–Jayārimalladevasya vijayarājye* | *Viṣṇudāsena likhitam* | The date corresponds to March 1st, 1339.

3) Ms. *Saptaśatī*, National Archives, I.1536.19. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 462 Kārtika–śukla–pratipadyāyān–tithau bṛhaspati–vāsare* | *R.–P.–Pb.–Raghuvaṃśāvatāra–śrī–śrī–Jayārimalladevasya vijayarājye* | *śrī–Lembaṭipaṭane* etc. Lembaṭi–paṭana, called Lembati–draṅga in the Licchavi inscriptions, is modern Lele, south of Chapagaon, at the southern end of the Nepal valley [4]. The date is verified for Thursday, October 11th, 1341.

The new king was born in 396 Māgha *śukla* 12, Punarvasu *nakṣatra*, Priti *yoga*, *budhavāra*; the date is completely verified for Wednesday, January 29th, 1276. He was the son of Anantamalla, and thus fully entitled to the throne. The coronation ceremony (*puṣyābhiṣeka*) was performed on 440 Caitra *kṛṣṇa* 12 (= April 5th, 1320). He died at the age of 69 in 464 Aśvini *śukla* 7 (= September 14th, 1344), and the throne remained vacant for some time [5].

The position of the new king was one of dignity without power. The chronicles explain in the clearest terms that Jayārimalla was allowed merely the royal domain (*rājabhukti*) [6], and that the whole of Nepal was Jayarudramalla's own (V^1, 27*b*; VK/VD). This *rājabhukti*

1) This same man, *kuṭumbaja–mahāpātra Śrī* Jayaśīhamalladevavarman, wrote with his own hand a ms. of the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (National Archives III.394; colophon partly published in *CPMDN*, I, p. 90) dated 470 NS Bhādrapada *kṛṣṇa* 2–3, Uttarabhadra–Revati *nakṣatra*, Gaṇḍa *yoga*, *śukravāra*; the date is verified for Friday, August 20th, 1350. Still later he (*pradhānāṅga–mahāpātra* Śrī Jayaśīhamallavarman) wrote with his hand a ms. of the *Hariścandropākhyāna* (National Archives, III. 362. 4; colophon published in *CPMDN*, II, p. 29) dated 496 Māgha *kṛṣṇa* 5, Svāti *nakṣatra*, Dhruva *yoga*, *somavāra*; the date is verified for Monday, February 11th, 1376.

2) Published in *CSMASB*, V, p. 438 n. 3747.

3) First published 1958.

4) The identification is due to Dh. Bajracharya, "Licchavi–kālik bastī", in *Pūrṇimā*, 18 (2025 VS), 88.

5) V^2, 35*b*; V^3, 44*a* and 51*a*.

6) V^1 reads *bhakti* for *bhukti*, and the meaning would be that Jayārimalla was

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comprised apparently Gwanla, i.e. Deo Patan and the surrounding tract; the name of Jayārimalla in V³ is consistently preceeded by the word Gwanla [1]. Although he did not bear the royal title nor any other, Jayarudramalla was supreme, and his authority was recognized as far (*prajanta* for *pratyanta*) the fief (*bhuṅiti*) of Nuvakoth; and he "changed greatly (i.e. he enlarged) the dominion of Bhatgaon" (*Bhaktagrāma-kṣatra bahutara vikṛtaṃ*; V¹, 27*b*; VK).

The first sixteen years of Jayārimalla's reign show no inscriptions nor colophons. Possibly conditions were too unstable, or the scribes preferred not to mention the date and the name of the ruling king as long as Jayānandadeva was still alive. Whatever the reason, we are confronted with a gap of twenty years in our documentation, and this fact is at least statistically worthy of notice.

Indeed the times were anything but peaceful. On March 1st, 1321, the Khasiyā raided Nepal, and on the same date the royal residence (*rājavāsa*) of Tipura collapsed [2]; it is not clear whether the two facts were connected. Anyhow, the walls of the palace were rebuilt by Jayarudramalla in 1324 [3].

About this time an event took place to which the later chronicles attribute great importance. It concerns king Harisiṃha (or Harasiṃha) of Tirhut, a notable ruler and a patron of Sanskrit literature [4]. According to the Muslim sources, at the end of 724 A.H. (1324 A.D.) Ghiyās ud-dīn Tughlaq, the king of Delhi, marching back to his capital after his invasion of Bengal, entered Tirhut, captured its capital Simraongarh, took prisoner the king and carried him to Delhi. Soon after reaching the city, in February or March 1325, the king fell victim of a mysterious accident. His successor Muham-

only given the loyalty due to a sovereign. But *bhukti* seems to be the correct reading.

1) It has been suggested with plausibility that in those years the term Gwanla indicated Central Nepal as opposed to Bhonta; Th. Manandhar, "A leaf from the Bendall *Vaṃśāvali*", in *CNS*, 1/2 (1974), 100.

2) 441 Caitra *śukla* 2; V³, 44*b*.

3) 444 Māgha *śukla* 7; V³, 45*b*.

4) His minister Caṇḍeśvara, besides being a successful leader of the Tirhut army, was a literary figure of some relief, being the author of the drama *Kṛtyaratnākara* and of some *smṛti* works. See M. Chakravarti, "Contributions to the history of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithila", in *JASB*, 1915, 385; id., "History of Mithila during the pre-Mughal period", ibid., 410–431; K. P. Jayaswal. Preface to his edition of the *Rājanīti-ratnākara*, Patna 1936, 11–16. For other authors see also R. K. Choudhary, "Sanskrit Drama in Mithila", in *JBRS*, 43 (1957), 34–40.

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mad Tughlaq released Harisiṃha and reinstated him on the throne upon a promise of tribute. But at the end of that year Muhammad decided to annex Tirhut to his dominions. Upon hearing of the intentions of the Sultan, Harisiṃha left his country and fled toward the hills; this is said to have happened in Muharram 726 A. H. (December 8th 1325–January 6th, 1326) [1].

Thus far the Muslim sources. The entry in the old Nepalese chronicle bearing upon this event took time to be properly understood, owing to the difficulties of the archaic language. At present I would take the meaning to be as follows: "On 446 Māgha *śukla* 3 (January 7th, 1326) Rāja Harasiṃha of Tirhut, collecting his subjects (?) and taking the lead himself, started from Mithilā [being defeated] by the Turks of Delhi. Śimarāvana (Simraongarh) was destroyed. The Tirhut Rāja, his minister (*mahātha*) etc., all of them escaped. After some time they came back. After some time they went to Rājagrāma [and] Dholakha. Rāja Harasiṃha died at Ṭiṃpaṭa. Both his son and the minister were treacherously arrested and carried off as prisoners, [although] they had asked for refuge; and Majhi Bhāro of Rājagrāma seized all their wealth" [2].

Another parallel but much shorter text, said to be taken fromt a manuscript of that period obtained in Dolkha, says: "The Tirhut Raja along with his following, being expelled by the Turks, entered the forests together with his ministers. His wife Devalaksmīdevī and his son with their relatives entered Nepal asking for [refuge]" [3].

1) The main sources are Ferishta, Isami's *Futūh us-salātin*, the *Basatin ul-uns* written in 1326 by an eye-witness, and the *Bayāz* of Mulla Taqiyā, a Muslim mystic of the 16th–17th century, partly published in 1946 in an Urdu magazine of Patna, after which the unique manuscript was lost. Mulla Taqiyā is a late writer, but he is the only Muslim author who supplies us with exact dates. See R. C. Majumdar, *The Delhi Sultanate* (History and culture of the Indian People, VI), Bombay 1960, 399–402; R. K. Choudhary, "Early Muslim invasions of Tirhut", in *JIH*, 40 (1962), 392–396; id., *History of Muslim rule in Tirhut*, Varanasi 1970, 48–54; H. N. Ansari, "Tirhut (North Bihar) and Bihar (South Bihar) under Muhammad ibn-Tughlaq. A.D. 1325–1351", in *JBRS*, 50 (1964), 61–62; C. P. N. Singh, *Mithila under the Karnatas*, Patna 1979, 112–117.

2) V³, 46*a–b*. My translation follows that published by the editors in *Pūrṇimā*, 26 (2029), 219.

3) M. P. Khanal, "Itihās saṃśodhana ko kehī saṃśodhana", in *Ancient Nepal*, 13 (October 1970), 46. This text is very interesting, as it gives the name of Harisiṃha's widow; but it is not beyond doubt. It strikes me that no Nepalese scholar studied or even quoted it after it was first published.

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Rājagrāma (Rajgaon) was the castle built by Jayarudramalla in 1319; it lies in the Dolkha district. Ṭiṃpāṭana lies between the Chursa and Sindhuli streams, about 100 km. to the south-east of Kathmandu. The date given in V3 is in complete agreement with Mulla Taqiyā's *Bayāz*. We may therefore accept it as established that Harisiṃha fled from Tirhut at the end of 1325 and died at Ṭiṃpāṭana at the beginning of 1326.

As to the facts themselves, it is clear that the Tirhut Rāja entered the Nepalese hills not as a conqueror, but as a refugee. He died outside the Valley and his relatives were looted of their belongings and kept as prisoners, at least for some time. This conclusion cannot be challenged any longer [1].

No direct information on the end of Harisiṃha is forthcoming from Maithilī texts, with the exception of a traditional stanza, found also in VK, VL and VW, giving the date of the event:

bāṇābdhi-yugma-śaśi (= 1245) samvat śāka-varṣe
pauṣyasya śukla-navamī ravisūnu-vāre |
tyaktvā svapaṭṭanapurīṃ Harisiṃhadevo
durgeva daivaviparīta-giriṃ praveśa || [2].

[1] A revival of interest in Harisiṃha, teinted with nationalistic feelings, took place in the fifties and sixties of this century. Indian scholars, chiefly from Bihar, upheld (and on the whole still uphold) the late tradition of a conquest of Nepal by Harisiṃha and a rule of his descendants in that country, as it was thought to be described in VW and in the inscriptions of Pratāpamalla and of Siddhinarasiṃhamalla (17th century); Nepalese scholars negated any form of Tirhutia rule and considered Harisiṃha as a simple refugee. The relevant literature, not all of it on scientific level, is listed as follows. Choudhary, "The Karṇāṭs of Mithilā", in *ABORI*, 35 (1954), 91–121 (chiefly 113–118); id., *History of Bihar*, Patna 1958, 110–1120 id., "Nepal and the Karṇāṭas of Mithilā", in *JIH*, 36 (1958), 123–130; id., "The Later Karṇāṭas of Mithilā and Nepal", in *JBRS*, 46 (1960), 16–26; id., "Harisiṃhadeva of Mithilā", in *ABORI*, 42 (1961), 123–140; Upendra Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, Darbhanga 1956, 284–289; id., "A note on king Harisiṃha of Mithilā", in *JBRS*, 43 (1957), 386–391; Kamalanarain Jha, "Karṇāṭa rulers of Mithilā", in *JBRS*, 43 (1957), 61–63; R. C. Majumdar, "King Harisiṃha of Mithilā", in *JBRS*, 43 (1957), 1–6; id., *The Delhi Sultanate* (History and Culture of the Indian People, VI), Bombay 1960, 399–402; Dh. Bajracharya, *Itihās-saṃśodhana ko pramāṇ-prameya*, Lalitpur 2019 VS, 232–236; L. Petech, "Mithilā and Nepal", in *JBRS*, 48 (1962), part 3, 13–18; Regmi, I, 271–294 (most verbose); C. P. N. Sinha, *Mithila under the Karnatas*, Patna 1979, 271–294; and the studies on the Muslim sources quotes above (p. 114).

[2] Minor variants occur. Several Maithilī text read the date as *Pauṣyasya śukla-daśamī kṣitisūnu-vāre*, i.e. one day later. Jayakantha Mishra, *A history of Maithili lite-*

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In this form [1], the date is incorrect. It cannot be verified, because the *tithi* ended on December 7th, 1323, which day was a Wednesday and not a Saturday (*ravisunu* = *śanaiścara*). Moreover, it cannot be reconciled with the Muslim historians, according to whom Tughlaq passed through Tirhut in the winter 1324–25 and Harisiṃha fled from Simraongarh at the end of 1325. But if the year intended were Śāka 1247, the date could be verified for Saturday, December 14th, 1325, which would fit perfectly in the chronological frame. A correction of the first word–numeral seems necessary. But in any case the mistake is very old, as no ms. gives variants for *bāṇa* (= 5).

What happened to the family of Harisiṃha? Here we are groping in darkness. There is, however, an entry in the chronicle, which seems to purport that on November 12th, 1331, Candana Aiśvara took Rājagā [2]. The general consensus is that the man here mentioned is identical with Harisiṃha's minister Caṇḍeśvara; and if Rājagā is Rājagrāma (Rajgaon), we may suppose that the Tirhut refugees seized that place, perhaps dispossessing Majhi Bhāro who had treated them so basely six years before. In this way they gained an estate, from which Harisiṃha's family soon after started on its new fortunes in Nepal. However, the hypothetical components of this reconstruction are perhaps too many.

The Harisiṃha episode played no role in Nepalese history of the 14th century. But it assumed a posthumous relevance in the 17th century, when rulers such as Pratāpamalla and Siddhinarasiṃhamalla, being proud of their Karṇāṭa (i.e. Maithilī) lineage, chose to ignore their ancestor, the great Jayasthitimalla and traced their descent from Nānyadeva to Harisiṃha and then straight on to Jayayakṣamalla (1428–1482). Of course these late genealogical and heraldic

rature, I, Allahabad 1949, 256, as well as the stanza as written down on a leaf of paper for Hodgson (India Office Library, Hodgson 30/5, vol. 29; published in *CSPMIO*, 1414, n. 7775) show the following variant in the last half-verse: *durdaivadarśitapathathagiriṃ āviveśa*. Much more important is the variant in the second verse found in the colophon of the *Jātisaṅgraha*, India Office Library, Hodgson 37/6, vol. 30 (published in *CSPMIO*, 7411, n. 7767): *Karnāṭasaṃjñanagarādd–Harisiṃhadevo Nepāladeśam–anayat–sajālejū* (sic for Tālejū)–*majū*. It refers to the introduction into Nepal of Taleju, the house-goddess of the Malla dynasty.

1) VT, IV.4, has the same date, but the year is given as Śaka 1380, which is of course a mistake for Vikrama Samvat.

2) 452 Mārgaśirṣa *śukla* 12; V³, 47*a*. Cf. Regmi, I, 188.

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fancies have no *locus standi* in a serious study of the medieval history of Nepal.

Soon after the flight and death of Harisiṃha, the strong man of Nepal disappeared at the young age of thirty. Jayarudramalla died in 446 *prathama*–Āṣāḍha *pūrṇimā* (June 16th, 1326). He left no male heirs, as his sons Jayavīramalla (441–442) and Tribhūvanamalla (443–444) died as infants before him (V³, 45*a*). The rights and political position of the Tipura house were inherited by his daughter Nāyakadevī, who was brought up by her grandmother Padumalladevī (d. 1332) (V³, 47*b*; VK). Ladies ruled at Bhatgaon for two generations; and during the next years the struggle around the persons of the daughter and grand–daughter of Jayarudramalla looms very large in the chequered history of this period.

Padumalladevī had no easy time as regent. On February 18th, 1328, the Khasa king Ādityamalla, the son of Jitārimalla, took Nuvakoth; he marched on and five days later he conquered Śekharakvātha (Pharping); three castles were burnt. After having settled in the Pul Bahal of Patan, he besieged [the castle] for twenty–two days; but the fortress was not taken [1]. Other chronicles confirm that Ādityamalla entered Patan and imposed a fine on the citizens on 448 Caitra *śukla pūrṇamī*, Uttaraphalguni–*nakṣatra*, *śukradina* (V¹, 27*b*; VK); the date is irregular, *tithi* and day of the week corresponding to Friday, March 25th, 1328, while the *nakṣatra* ended on March 24th. I wonder whether the passing reappearance of the old king Jayānandadeva in Patan one month later (see p. 111) had any political significance; did he try to stage a return profiting of the commotion caused by Jayarudramalla's death and by the Khasa invasion? Another sign of unrest was the rebellion staged by Abhaya Rāma Mulami at Majhi Baharkvāth in the district of Banepa on April 14th, 1330 [2].

But Nepal had not yet seen the last of the Khasa. On September 6th, 1334, "Thayita Bhā[ro] entered Patan. The Sakhupati Raja came [to Patan] to measure [the fine], but was killed by the Khasa. Forty men were killed. On March 11th [of the following year] the Khasa departed, after having realized their fine. The Khasa put San-

1) 448 Phālguṇa *śukla* 7: V³, 46*a*.
2) 450 Caitra *kṛṣṇa* 11; V³, 46*b*.

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khu to the torch " [1]. The name of the Khasa king is not mentioned, but was almost certainly Puṇyamalla (1336–1339) [2]. Anyhow, this five–months occupation closed the long series of the Khasiyā predatory raids.

In the meantime Nāyakadevī was approaching marriageable age and this question became of foremost importance for the future of the Tipura house. In those years the two brothers Hariścandra and Gopālacandra or Gopāladeva had migrated to Nepal. According to the chronicle, they were descendants of the king of Kāśī, which simply means that they belonged to the lunar race (the Mallas were of the solar race). In January 10th, 1330, Hariścandra married Nāyakadevī, while his brother took as wife Kāmadevī, possibly another daughter of Jayarudramalla [3].

The prince–consort was not popular with the local aristocracy. Padumalladevī tried to bolster up his position by enlisting the help of three nobles of the Bhatgaon region (February 15th, 1332) [4]. Force was also resorted to; some partisans of Hariścandra killed two prominent nobles and expelled the influential Thayita Bhāro (V³, 47*b*). Although these high–handed means may have secured Hariścandra's position for a moment, it received a mortal blow by the demise of the old energetic Padumalladevī at the age of 67 years and 2 months, on September 22nd, 1332 [5]. Still, prince Hariścandra tried to maintain himself in the Yuthanimaṃ, the palace fouded by Jayarudramalla; but Thayita Bhāro, who had returned, gathered around him the opposition and rose in arms against the prince, who had to flee to Kathmandu (May 2nd, 1333) [6]. Even this refuge did not save him in the end; on May 28 th, 1335, he died of poison; some noblemen openly boasted of this deed [7].

Of course Nāyakadevī could not become *satī*, as her life was

1) Dates: 454 Bhādrapada *śukla* 7 (there was no *saṅkrānti* in Āśvini, which caused an intercalary Āṣāḍha; this Bhādrapada correspond to *adhika*–Āśvini in the Sūrya Siddhānta); [455] Phālguṇa *kṛṣṇa pratipad* (Pausa being *kṣaya*, this Phalguṇa corresponds to *nija*–Phalguṇa in the Sūrya Siddhānta); V³, 48*a*..

2) L. Petech, " Ya–tse, Gu–ge, Pu–raṅ ", 96–97.

3) 450 Pauṣa *kṛṣṇa* 13; V³, 46*b*.

4) 452 Phālguṇa *śukla*, 3; V³, 49*b*.

5) 452 Āśvini *śukla* 2; V³, 47*a–b*.

6) 453 Vaiśākhā *kṛṣṇa* 3; V³, 47*b*.

7) 455 Jyeṣṭha *śukla* 6; V¹, 27*b*; V³, 47*a*.

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all–important for the partisans of the Tipura house; besides, widow–burning was not yet in agreement with the ideas of the Newars about marriage. Thus she remained under the guardianship of her brother–in–law Gopāladeva. The latter soon grew tired of his powerless positon in Bhatgaon and retired to Patan [1], without, however, giving up formally his authority.

The situation became even more complicated when prince Jagatsiṃha of Tirhut became the lover of the widow Nāyakadevī and started intriguing against her guardian; actually the moving force behind young Jagatsiṃha was his mother Devaladevī [2]. Things came to a head on November 5th, 1336, when Devaladevī secured the support of Abhe (Abhaya) Rāma Mulami, apparently the foremost nobleman in Bhatgaon. They took their seat in Yuthanimaṃ, and 16 days later Abhe Rāma and Thayita Bhāro together with Anekha Rāma Mahātha, the prime minister of Bhonta, swore fealty to Devaladevī and her son [3]. The result of this shift in the political balance soon became apparent; on May 16th, 1337, Jagatsiṃha entered the Mānigal palace in Patan, and on the next day he expelled Gopāladeva; the event had been prepared and arranged by Abhe Rāma Mulami and Thayita Bhāro [4]. Their success was completed when Devaladevī, acting again in concert with her two supporters, seized the lands of Pyako Rāja, who apparently was one of the main partisans of Gopāladeva (January 13th, 1338) [5]. The latter remained quiet for some time, but on December 24th, 1339, having obtained the support of Jog Rāma Mulami of Bihārkvāth, he entrenched himself in the castle of Ṭhākhā (Tokha) and offered open defiance. On the following day the castle was attacked and taken by the Bhatgaon forces; Jog Rāma fled and Gopāladeva, being left alone, was seized and decapitated by the men of Jagatsiṃha. Later Jog Rāma too was made prisoner [6]. Jagatsiṃha had succeeded in eliminating the main obstacle to his career.

1) V[1], 27*b*–28*a*.

2) The relationship between Devaladevī and Jagatsiṃha is nowhere attested directly, but is placed beyond doubt by the fact that Devaladevī was the paternal grandmother (*pitāmahī*) of Jagatsiṃha's daughter.

3) 457 Mārgaśira *śukla pratipad*; V[3], 48*b*–49*a*.

4) 457 Jyeṣṭha *kṛṣṇa pratipad*; V[3], 49*a*–*b*.

5) 458 Pauṣa *badi* 7; V[3], 49*b*–50*a*.

6) 460 Pauṣa *badi* 8; V[1], 28*a*; V[3], 50*a*.

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Who was this man, who never contracted a legal marriage with the widow Nāyakadevī [1]? In my opinion Jagatsiṃha, prince of Tirhut, was a son of Harisiṃha. The time, the title and the form of the name strongly suggest such a probability. This explains why the later chronicles made of Harisiṃha an ancestor of the royal family and a king of Bhatgaon, although he never ruled there; indeed, the link between the Later Mallas and Harisiṃha can be sought only here, and nowhere else. And if this reconstruction is correct, then Devaladevī must have been the widow of Harisiṃha [2]. A corroborating piece of evidence may be supplied (it authentic) by the Dolkha text cited above (p. 114), giving the name of Harisiṃha's wife as Devalakṣmīdevī, of which Devaladevī would be an abridgment.

Not much is known of the short period of Jagatsiṃha's ascendancy. Apparently he succeeded in re-affirming the paramountcy of the Tipura house over the chiefs of Nuvakoth, who had asserted their independance (see later, pp. 195–197).

On the other side, his authority did not remain without challenge. On March 17th, 1344, the old mischief-maker Jog Rāma Mulami and Sahaj Mulami made a compact with Paśupatimalla, a rather mysterious figure whose origin and background are utterly obscure; starting from the castle of Kapan, they raised a rebellion in Bhatgaon itself [3]. But apparently the whole affair fizzled out; on September 16th, 1346, Paśupatimalla was quietly staying at Tokha [4].

Late on Saturday 6th or early on Sunday 7th January, 1347, a daughter was born to Jagatsiṃha and Nāyakadevī; she was given the name Rājalladevi [5]. Ten days later her mother died. The baby had thus lost both her parents; for Jagatṣimha had already vanished from the scene. His end is obscure. During some days after the death of Gopāladeva he had been recognized as king by his faction; but apparently he was unable to press his claim. Later, possibly immediately after the birth of his daughter, he was thrown into pri-

1) According to V[1], 28*a*, and *VK* he simple co-habited with her (*saṅgrhya-kṛtaṃ*).

2) This opinion was accepted also by Dh. Bajracharya, in *Pūrṇimā* 7 (2022 VS), 14–16; by T. R. Vaidya, "Devaladevī, the wife of Harisiṃhadeva", in *Nepal Review*, 4 (1968), 159–161; and by M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 55*b*.

3) 464 Caitra *śukla* 3; V[3], 51*b*.

4) 466 Āśvini *śukla pratipad*; V[3], additional leaf (51 bis).

5) 467 Pauṣa *kṛṣṇa* 10, Anurādha-*nakṣatra*; VK; V[1], 28*ā*; V[3], 51*b*.

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son [1], where he seems to have met his end. We ignore the names of the enemies who contrived his ruin.

The little orphaned princess was entrusted to the care of her paternal grandmother Devaladevī, who proved herself an able and devoted regent. She kept firmly the reins in her hands, as she had done since the times of Padumalladevī. As first thing, she made short work of the potential danger represented by Paśupatimalla. On May 20th, 1348, he came out of Patan and was arrested and imprisoned in the casle of Bhuṅgulacheṃ, where he died on December 3rd of the same year [2]. Devaladevī's consummate skill enabled the Bhatgaon principality to weather without mishap the stormy times that confronted it.

All these colourful events are known from V³ and VK only, since the colophons, which had grown rare during these times of strife, continued to recognize the legitimacy of the Gwanla kings only. Actually the monarchy had suffered a nearly complete eclipse; real power in the old capital Patan and in most of the Valley rested in the hands of the aristocracy. It is the names of outstanding noblemen that occur most frequently in VBd during these years, to the almost complete exclusion of the kings. We have already encountered Abhe Rāma Mulami, apparently the most influential man in Tipura. The same position was held in Bhonta by Jyoti Rāma's son Anekha Rāma Mahātha, with whom the Rāma[vardhana] family rose to lasting power in that part of the country. He first appears on August 1st, 1332, when the *mahātha* Anekha Rāma Bhāro surrounded the castle of Banepa where Jayarāja of Bhonta was residing, until an agreement was patched up between the contending parties [3]. On October 13th, 1336, he joined Abhe Rāma Mulami at Gokarṇa, and together they undertook a campaign against some feudal strongholds [4]. Then Anekha Rāma's name disappears from the chronicles for some years. Perhaps his place was taken by a relative of his (?), called Ajaya Rāma; on February 12th, 1345, the "lesser minister" (*choṭa mahātha*) Ajaya Rāma left Palamchok and repaired

1) V¹, 28*a*.
2) 469 Mārgaśira *śukla* 12; V³, 52*a*.
3) 452 Śrāvaṇa *śukla* 9; V³, 47*a*.
4) 457 Kārttika *śukla* 8; V³, 48*b*.

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to Bhatgaon [1]. Whether he was deposed or he went over to the enemy, is difficult to tell. Then Anekha Rāma Mahātha appears again; on January 28th, 1346, he confronted two nobles who had occupied the castle of Kusān and blocked the route to Bhonta, causing thereby a great scarcity of food; he succeeded in getting the blockade raised [2]. By that time he had become the right-hand man of Jayarāja of Bhonta, on whose accession to the throne he became the chief minister. His family was the mainstay of the dynasty; after its extinction the Rāmas tried, and for a time succeeded in maintaining the separate individuality and independence of Bhonta.

Jayarājadeva (1347–1361)

Jayārimalla had been raised to the throne as a puppet of the Tipura chiefs, and we have no reason to doubt that this remained his position till the end. After his death there followed an interregnum of three years. Two reasons may have concurred to produce this effect. Firstly, it appears that Jayārimalla had died without a heir [3]. Secondly, the Tipura family was going through the stormy period during the last years of Jagatsiṃha's ascendancy and before the birth of Rājalladevī. And after all, the claims of the Bhonta family, evinced from the throne by Jayarudramalla, had also to be considered. There must have been a good deal of wrangling, but as soon as the energetic Devaladevī reasserted her power in January 1347, a solution was soon found. It consisted in an agreement with the Bhonta family, by which the latter was to supply again the nominal king while the whole of Central Nepal remained under the de-facto rule of the Bhatgaon princesses. And thus on July 27th, 1347, upon the agreement of both the royal families (*ubhaya-rājakula-sānumatena*) and with the approval of the whole of the country, Jayarāja was elected king of Nepal [4]. On September 6th, 1348, De-

1) 465 Phālguṇa *śukla* 10; V³, 51*a*.

2) 466 Māgha *śukla* 5; V³, additional leaf (51 bis).

3) It has been suggested that Paśupatimalla was the son and heir of Jayārimalla; Th. Manandhar, "Nepal in the early medieval period; gleanings from the Bendall *vaṃśāvalī*", in *JNRC*, 1 (1977), 85. But there is no evidence whatsoever in support of this contention.

4) 467 Śrāvaṇa *kṛṣṇa* 4; V¹, 28*a*. VK gives the same month and day, but the year

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valadevī crowned him in the religious capital Deo Patan; and after this formal act Bhonta recovered its share of the revenue from the Gwanla region [1].

Four colophons of this reign are extrant:

1) Ms. *Vāmakeśvarīmahātantre Tripurāhomavidhi*, National Archives, I.1559.6. Colophon [2] *Nirvādhaṃ parirakṣati kṣititalaṃ kṣmāpālacūḍāmanau* | *vīra-śrī-Jayarājadeva-nṛpatau Nepāla-sumaṇḍalaṃ* | *śaivācāryavarasya vikhyātakīrtteḥ kṛte* | *savyākhyāṃ ca catuḥ-śatīṃ samalikhan-Nārāyaṇākhyaḥ kaviḥ* || *Samvat 474* | The date corresponds to 1353–54.
2) Ms. *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 3823. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 476 Phālguna-śukla-daśamyāṃ śukravāsare Ārdrā-nakṣatre* | *R.-P.-Pb.-śrī-śrī-Jayarājadeva-vijayarājye* | *...śrī-Yokhāccha-vihāra-vajrācārya-śrī-Kṣemendrasya likhitam.* The Yokhāccha or Yogha monastery has already mentioned several times; see back pp. 72, 84. The date is verified for Friday, February 12th, 1356.
3) Ms. *Bṛhajjātaka*, Library, n. 49.1. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 476 Jyeṣṭha-kṛṣṇa-saptamyāṃ ādityavāsare ....* | *R.-P.-Pb.-śrī-śrī-Jayarājadevasya vijayarājye* etc. The date is verified for the first minutes of Sunday, May 22nd, 1356.
4) Ms. *Ratnakaraṇḍikā* (*Smṛtisamuccaya*), National Archives, III.376.2. Colophon [5]: *Śrī-Nepālika-samvat 481 Māgha-kṛṣṇāṣṭamyāṃ tithau Anurādha-nakṣatre śanaiścara-vāsare pustakasiddhim-idaṃ* | *śrī-Lalitāpurī-nagaryyāṃ śrī-Māniglake naiṛtyadi-śastha-śrī-Yambusthānādhipatiḥ vipravaṃśodbhavaḥ dvijavarottamaḥ sā Jayapatisoma-śarmmaṇena.....likhāpitaṃ* | *tasminn-eva nagaryyāṃ śrī-Māniglake dakṣiṇastha-śrī-Tāliṅgeśvarasthānādhivāsinaḥ daivajñaḥ Anantarāma-nāmnena ..... likhitaṃ ..... R.-P.-Pb-śrī-śrī-Jayarājamalladeva vijayarājye* || Written at Patan. The date is verified for Saturday, January 30th, 1361.

Jayarājadeva was born at Palamchok on March 9th, 1317, as the illegitimate son of Jayānandadeva and of his concubine (*saṅgrahaṇī bharyā*), a daughter of *pātra* Rājendrapāla of the Uttaravihāra of Patan [6]. Not much is known of his life before his accession to the throne. On August 7th, 1323, when his father was still alive and he himself was only six years old, he left Banepa and, accompanied by Jyoti Rāma Mahātha, he made a journey to Pharping, Mānigal

464; the date corresponds to July 29th, 1344, two months before the death of Jayārimalla The date of V[1] seems more credible. At the end of the sentence both V[1] and VK add a date 467 Vaiśākha *śudi* 7 (April 18th, 1347); it is difficult to see to which event it could refer.

1) 468 Bhādrapada *śudi* 13; V[3], 52*a*.
2) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 71.
3) Published in *CSMASB*, VI, 115 n. 4411.
4) Published with some mistakes in *CPMDN*, II, 105.
5) Published in *CPMDN*, II, 68.
6) 437 Phālguṇa *kṛṣṇa* 10; V[3], 45*a–b*; VK.

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and Tipura [1]. We ignore their purpose; perhaps it was an attempt to reach an agreement with Jayarudramalla. On April 13th, 1332, Jayarāja of Palamchok met Gaja, the feudatory of Nuvakoth, at Brahmakhā [2], possibly with the aim of getting support from that quarter. On August 1st of the same year he was besieged by Anekha Rāma Mahātha at Banepa and had to come to terms with his powerful minister (see back, p. 121). These scanty bits of informations merely indicate some weak attempts at obtaining support; otherwise, Jayarāja played no conspicuous role during his early years.

During Jayarāja's reign, which lasted from 1347 to 1361, Anekha Rāma continued to hold the position of prime minister (*mahātha*), while his son Jayasiṃha Rāma was the attendant of the *yuvarāja* Jayārjunadeva (born 1338) [3]. The agreement between the two ruling houses of Bhonta and Tipura worked well, at least at the beginning, and this sort of dyarchy restored some measure of unity to the Valley. Immediately after the election of Jayarājadeva, on September 8th, 1347, Devaladevī and Anekha Rāma, acting in concert, obtained the control over Patan and conquered Muhrikhā, Kirtipur, Balambu and Yitokvāth [4]. After having established the authority of the new regime in Central Nepal, the new rulers took steps to replenish the treasure of Paśupati Nāth, which seems to have functioned as a national reserve treasury. First Devaladevī on October 30th, 1347, then Tipura and Bhonta together on February 22nd, 1348, and lastly Jayarājadeva alone on May 3rd, 1349, made substantial gifts to Paśupati [5].

The moment was most unfortunately chosen, considering the catastrophe which befell the Paśupati Nāth shrine and the whole Valley immediately afterwards, in the shape of the first and only Muslim

1) 443 Bhādrapada *śudi* 1; V[3]) 44*b*.

2) 452 Vaiśākha *kṛṣṇa* 2; V[3], 46*b*.

3) In the opening lines of the drama *Madālasājātismaraṇanāṭaka*, National Archives, V.787, there is a statement to this effect: *Śrīmanarīn jayati nityamAnekarāma mantrāvalambi Jayarājanarādhirājaḥ | Nepālacakravilasaj Jayasiṃharāma ṣāḍguṇavartti yuvarāja Jayārjunaś-ca*. Quoted by Dh. Bajracharya, "Śaktiśāli bhārādār Rāmavarddhanaharu ra tātkālika Nepāl", in *Pūrṇimā*, 7 (2022 VS), 22–23; cf. Regmi. I, 321.

4) 467 Āśvini *śukla* 3; V[3], 51*b*.

5) Dates: 468 Kārttika *pūrṇimā*; 468 Phālguṇa *śukla* 8; 469 Vaiśākha *pūrṇimā*; VK; V[1], 28*b*; V[3], 51*b*.

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invasion in Nepalese history [1]. It was a national disaster of the first magnitude. In the terse words of the chronicle, "in the meantime the Eastern Suratāna Samasadina (Sultān Shams ud-dīn) came to Nepal and broke into three pieces the image of Paśupati; the whole of Nepal was ravaged by fire and the people were unhappy. On November 19th, 1349, the great misfortune befell Bhatgaon" [2]. The third part of the chronicle confirms the date and adds that the raid lasted for seven days (V³, 52*a*). This invasion is of course passed under silence in the modern *vaṃśāvalīs*. It receives, however, full confirmation from two inscriptions.

The first, dated 492 NS, is found behind the great *stūpa* of Svayambhū Nāth [3]. It commemorates the restoration of the *stūpa*, after Sūratrāṇa Samasdīna (Sultān Shams ud-dīn) with a numerous army from Bengal had come to Nepal and had broken and burnt the Dharmadhātu-*stūpa*. This happened in 470 Mārgaśira *śukla* 10, *guru* [2]; the date is verified for Thursday, November 19th, 1349, the same date as in the chronicle.

The second inscription is found in the quadrangle of Cilaṃdyo Bahal (or Piṃtha Bahal) in Patan [4]. It is a private document, with no royal name mentioned. Its first part commemorates the repairs to the Piṃtha Bahāra (Pim Bahal) and the statue of the god made by Śrī-Meghapālavarman, who is given the title of *mahāpātra* and is praised because of his victories (*vijayī sarvvaśatrunihantā*) [5]. The re-

[1] On the Muslim invasion see the obsolete study by Baburam Acharya, "Nepal mā bhaye ko Musulmānī ākramaṇ", reprinted in *Pūrṇimā*, 27 (2029 VS), 145–163. Much better is Dh. Bajracharya, "Śamsuddīn ko ākramaṇ", in *Pūrṇimā*, 8 (2022) VS), 6–13.

[2] 470 Mārgaśira *śudi* 9; V¹, 28*b*. This passage was quoted with some mistakes by K. P. Jayaswal, in *JBORS*, 22 (1936), 95. VK reduces it to four words: *tadantare pūrvvaśutānāgata*.

[3] This inscription is Doc. 7 of Jayārjunadeva; see below p. 130. The relevant passage reads: *Saptatyabhyādhike śrīmanNepālābda-catuḥśate | Mārgaśīrṣe site pakṣe daśamyāṃ guru-vāsare || Sūratrāna-Samasdīno Baṅgāla-bahulair-balaiḥ sahāgatya ca Nepāle bhagno dagdhas-tu sarvaśaḥ*. Published by K. P. Jayaswal, in *JBORS*, 22 (1936), 93, with the date misread as *saptaṣaṣṭhādhike*. The correct reading was given by Dh. Bajracharya in *Itihās-Saṃśodhana*, 3 (2010 VS), 4; Yogi Naraharinath, in *Itihās Prakāś*, I, Kathmandu 2012 VS, 15*a*; and by P. C. Saraswati, "Shams ud-dīn Ilyās Shāh's invasion of Nepal", in *PIHC* 19 (1956) 206.

[4] First published in *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, I, 10–12 (2019 VS), 10–13.

[5] Meghapālavarman is possibly the same person mentioned in a ms. *Marmmakaṇikā-nāma Tattvajñānasiddhipañjikā*, National Archives, III.364.5. Colophon (published

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pairs were made after " Śrutāna Sāmasadino (Sultān Shams ud–dīn), king of the Yavana, had burnt down the whole of Nepal. On that occasion he (Meghapāla), having seen this *caitya* destroyed, built it anew " [1]. This part of the inscription is dated 477 Caitra *śukla* 6, Puṣya *nakṣatra*, Dhṛti *yoga*, *bṛhaspati*. The date is irregular; *nakṣatra*, *yoga* and day of the week indicate Thursday, March 30th, 1357, while the *tithi* ended on March 27th.

The Muslim ruler mentioned in these documents is Sultan Shams ud–dīn Ilyās of Bengal (1342–1357). His invasion of Nepal is not registered in the Muslim chronicles, but the background of the event is fairly well known. Sultan Tughlaq of Delhi had dispossessed Harisiṃha and his Karṇāṭa dynasty, giving Tirhut to Kāmeśvara, the founder of the Oinwara dynasty. Ilyās, at first a tributary of Muhammad Tughlaq and then an independent ruler, overran Tirhut in 1345–46 and divided it into two parts, both of which acknowledged his suzerainty. From this base he struck into Nepal. Then after this raid Bengal dropped out of Nepalese politics, because about 1353–55 Ilyās lost Tirhut to Fīrūz Shāh of Delhi, who gave back the country to Kāmeśvara's son Bhogīśvara. And since Fīrūz Shāh was too weak to be able to interfere with Nepal, the Muslim menace faded away, never to be renewed [2].

The effect of the raid by the iconoclastic Muslims must have been appalling, far worse than the inroads by the Hindu chieftains of the hills, who usually at least respected the temples. The invasion by Shams ud–dīn Ilyās may have contributed, along with the perishability of the building material (timber), to the disparition of all the monuments of ancient Nepalese architecture; none of the extant buildings in the Valley proper, however ancient their foundation, seems to be

in *CPMDN*, II, p. 46): *Śaśāṅka–bindu–viṣaya–gate* (= 501) *'bde Māghe 'site bhūmisute daśamyāṃ | Āṣāḍhapūrvve Variyāna–yoge śrutaṃ tadā śrī–Raṇameghapālaḥ || ..... śrutam–pātrādhirājena Meghapālena dhīmatā* || There was no Vṛṣabha *saṅkrānti* in Vaiśākha, which gives an intercalary Pauṣa. The Māgha of this colophon corresponds therefore to Phālguna in the Sūrya Siddhānta; and the date is verified in all its elements for Tuesday, February 19th, 1381.

1) *Śrutāna–Sāmasadino Yavanādhirājaḥ Nepāla–sarvvanagaraṃ bhasmīkaroti | tasmin kṣaṇe patita–caityam–idaṃ ca dṛṣṭvā jirṇṇaṃ karoti navakaṃ varayāhaḥ.*

2) See e.g. R. K. Choudhary, " The Oinwaras of Mithila ", in *JBRS*, 40 (1954). 100–102.

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earlier than the 15th century. Reconstruction work was slow. The broken image of Paśupati was re–erected by Jayasiṃha Rāma on April 17th, 1360 [1], and that of Svayambhū Nāth as late as 1372, as we have seen above.

After the depart of the Bengal army, several events of the year 1349/50 are registered in the chronicle (V³, 52*b*–53*a*); but that passage is badly faded and hardly anything can be made out. We merely remark that under the date of January 1350 we find for the first time a mention of the nobleman Jayata Mulami, who was destined to a brilliant career.

Although Nepalese unity was formally preserved, strong forces continued to work against it. People in Bhatgaon seemed to consider Devaladevī as an independent queen, as shown by the following document:

Ms. *Ṇityāhnikatilaka*, National Archives, I.1361. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 473 Asuni–śukla–trayodasyāyāṃ tithau bhāragava–dine śrī–śrī–R.–P.–Pb.–rājābhidhāvati śrī–śrī–Devaladevyā vijayarājye śrī–śrī–Bhavabhuteśvara–śaivācārya–śrī–Narendrapālajīvena likhāpitaṃ.* The date cannot be verified; the *tithi* ended on October 5th, 1353, which day was a Thursday and not a Friday.

This piece of evidence remains isolated, and it is likely that the claim was disallowed or at least not pressed by the princess–regent. Anyhow, in a most important matter she acted quite on her own. She arranged personally the marriage of her grand–daughter, still only seven years old, with Jayasthitimalla. The betrothal took place on September 26th, 1354, and five months later the bridegroom entered Bhatgaon and the wedding ceremonies were performed [3].

With Jayasthitimalla a masterful personally enters the history of Nepal. His lineage is surprisingly obscure. The later official account, as found in Kirkpatrick, the *Mudita–Kuvalayāśva*, VL, VW, VBh, makes him a descendant of Harisiṃha in the female line, in the fifth or seventh generation; and this is palpably absurd from the chronological point of view. Another version is found in Tucci's Sanskrit *vaṃśāvalī*. It gives to his five ancestors more or less the same names as the other

1) 480 Vaiśākha *śukla* 2; V³, 54*a*.

2) Published by Dh. Bajracharya in *Pūrṇimā*, 7 (2022 VS), 20, and by Regmi, I, 309.

3) 474 Āśvini *śukla* 9; V³, 53*b*.

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chronicles, but makes the first of them, Nāgamalla, a son of Jayadeva (1255–1258), the third Malla ruler [1]. Thus Jayasthiti would be the representative of the first and earliest branch of the reigning house. But there are some difficulties in accepting this. In the first place it is difficult to cram five generations between 1258 (last known date of Jayadeva) and 1354 (first mention of Jayasthitimalla, possibly still a minor). Secondly, the only two sons of Jayadeva known from the early chronicles are Yakṣamalla (born in 1238) and Jatakeśadeva (born in 1244) [2]; Nāgamalla is not among them. Abowe all, the descendants of Jayasthitimalla never claimed a descendance from the early Malla stock, but chose to connect their line with the Tirhut family of Harisiṃha. Thus grave doubts must be entertained about the version of the Sanskrit *vamśāvalī*. Other guesses are possible. Jayasthitimalla may have been a son of Paśupatimalla. Or else he, the son of Aśokamalla, may have been an obscure scion of the Khasiyā royal family of Western Nepal, in which the rare name Aśoka appears at least once, of course long before this period [3]. But all these suppositions rest on no solid basis [4].

If we turn from the late chronicles and from the guesses of modern authors to positive evidence, the only tiny fragment of trustworthy information is supplied by the *Gopālavaṃśāvalī*, which informs us that Jayasthitimalla came to Nepal from the South (*kobana bijyāṅā*; V³, 53*b*). This sound rather vague, but there is the possibility that Jayasthitimalla came from Tirhut; this would help to explain why he was selected, or at least supported by Devaladevī [5]. It is also remarkable that the political career of Jayasthitimalla was accompanied by a certain measure of immigration from Tirhut; in the years after 1380 we find repeated mention in the chronicle of Ḍoya (Maithilī) residents in Nepal [6]. And the rule of Javasthitimalla certainly mar-

1) VT, IV.11–12.

2) V², 34*b*–35*a*.

3) This hypothesis is put forward by Suryaman Adhikari, in *Nepālko itihāskā vivādaspada–viṣayaharu*, Kirtipur 2037 VS, 55–59; but his grounds seems hardly sufficient.

4) The whole question was examined by Dh. Bajracharya, "Jayasthimallako vaṃśa", in *Nepālko itihāskā vivāskā vivādaspada viṣayaharu*, 48–53. without reaching any definite conclusion.

5) See M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 58*a*.

6) V³, 57*a*, 62*b*. One Ḍoya (Maithilī) Mulami occurs repeatedly in the text: V³, 56*b*, 59*a*, 63*b*.

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ked a strong revival of that sort of rigid brahmanical orthodoxy, which was always typical of Mithilā.

The years following the wedding were surprisingly peaceful; at least no important events are registered in the chronicle. Jayasthitimalla played no outstanding role as yet; possibly he was still too young, and in any case the reins of the Bhatgaon principality remained firmly in the experienced hands of Devaladevī. In Bhonta, Anekha Rāma maintained himself at the head of the government until his death on July 24th, 1356 [1]; he was succeded without difficulty as prime minister (*mahātha*) by his equally able son Jayasiṃha Rāma.

The exact date of Jayarājadeva's death is not known; but basing ourselves on the colophon, we may safely conclude that it happened in February or March or April 1361. The Svayambhū Nath inscription of 492 NS tells us that he died as the result of having been burnt while asleep.

Jayārjunadeva (1361–1382) *and the rise of Jayasthitimalla*

The new king was Jayārjunadeva, son of Jayarājadeva and of Rudrammadevī, a lady from the Karṇāṭa (i.e. Tirhut) family; in the words of the chronicle, "in his person the two royal houses (Bhonta and Tipura–Tirhut) became united" (VK; V[1], 28*b*). He was born on Monday, February 2nd, 1338 [2]. Before he ascended the throne, he is mentioned as heir–apparent (*yuvarāja*) in the colophon of a ms. which was written for him:

Ms. *Rudrayāmale Ṣaṣṭividyāpraśaṃśā*, National Archives, III.361.5. Colophon [3]: *Likhitam–idaṃ tapodhana–śrī–viśveśvarena yuvarāja–śrī–Jayārjunasyārthena likhitaṃ* || .... || *Samvat 479 Śrāvaṇa–kṛṣṇa–daśamī* || The date corresponds to August 18th, 1359.

On April 18th, 1360 he, together with his wife Śaṅkaradevī, was proclaimed king, i.e. associated to the throne in the lifetime of his father, who died only one year later.

1) 476 *dvir*–Aṣaḍha *kṛṣṇa* 11: V[3], 53*b*.

2) 458 Māgha *śukla* 12, Punarvasu, Āyuṣman–*yoga*, *somadina* (the date is verified in all its elements); V[3], 50*a*.

3) Published in *CPMDN*, II, 24.

4) 480 Vaiśākha *śukla* 2; V[3], 53*a*.

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Apart from the above-mentioned ms. of the *Rudrayāmala*, sixteen documents of his reign are extant:

1) Ms. *Āryāmoghapāśasūtra*, Kaisher Library, n. 136. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 481 Vaiśāṣa-kṛṣṇa-dvādaśyān- tithau Revati-nakṣatre āditya-vāsare | R.-P.-śrī-Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye* || The date is verified for Sunday, May 2nd, 1361.
2) Ms. *Sugrīvaśāstra*, National Archives, V.354. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 481 Vaiśāṣa-kṛṣṇa-dvādaśyāṃ Revatī-nakṣatre āditya-vāsare | R.-śrī-śrī-Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye | Puṇyamatī-nagarādhivāsina Tejānandāmatyasyārthena likhityedaṃ pustakaṃ.* Written at Panaoti on the same date as Doc. 1, i.e. on Sunday, May 2nd, 1361.
3) Ms. *Meghadūta*, National Archives, I.1076.15. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 484 Kārttika-śukla-pūrṇṇimāsyāṃ tithau Bharaṇi-nakṣatre Vyatipāta-yoge somavāsare | śrī-R.-P.-śrī-śrī-Jayārjjunadevasya vijayarājye | śrī-Palañcoka-rājyasthāne Jayasiṃha Bhārokasya pustakaṃ.* Jayasiṃha Bhāro is apparently the same as Jayasiṃha Rāma Mahātha. The date verified in all its details for Monday, October 23rd, 1363.
4) Ms. *Cāṇakyanīti*, Kaisher Library, n. 49/2. Colophon [4]: *Samvatsara 484 Jeṣṭha-śukla-dvādaśyān-tithau Svati-nakṣatre Variyāna-yoge somavāsare saṃpūrṇṇaṃ kṛtaṃ | M.-P.-Pb.-virājamāna-anekaprakriyā-śrī-śrī-Jayārjjunadevasya kalyāṇavijayarājye tadā mahāmahattaka-śrī-Jayaśiha(?)rāmasya varttamāne yadṛśaṃ pustakaṃ.* The fourth *akṣara* of the name Jayasiṃha has an unusual form, which looks like neither *ha* nor *va*, as it is sometimes supposed. In any case, the identification with Jayasiṃha Rāma Mahātha is certain. The date is verified in all its details for Monday, May 13th, 1364.
5) Ms. *Sugrīvaśāstra*, National Archives, V.345. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 488 Āṣāḍha-kṛṣṇa-trayodaśyāṃ Ārdrā-makṣatre Harṣaṇa-yoge bṛhaspati-vāsare śrī-R.-Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye.* The date is verified for the first hours of Thursday, July 13th, 1368.
6) Ms. *Mudrārākṣasa*, National Archives, I.1692.1. Colophon [6]: *R.-P.-Pb.-paramadhārmika-śrī-śrī-Jayārju[na × × ×] na vijayarājye śrī-Nepala-maṇḍale | ... | Śrī-Lalitāpure śrī-Māṇigalottara-mahāvihāre śrī-Yokhāccha-vihārādhivāsinaḥ.....* || *Samvat 491 Bhādrapada-śukla-tṛtīyāyāṃ tithau Hasta-nakṣatre Śula-yoge bṛhaspati-vāsare* || On the Yokhāccha or Yogha monastery at Patan see p. 72. The Śula *yoga* is impossible for that date and must be a mistake for Śukla. With this correction, the date is verified for Thursday, August 14th, 1371.
7) Inscription behind the central *stūpa* of Svayambhū Nāth, near Kathmandu. A most important document [7], written in *Nepāla-samvat 492 Aśuni-śukla-pūrṇṇamāsyān-tithau Aśvini-nakṣatre Sukarmma-yoge buddha-vāsare* to commemorate a restoration undertaken by Rājaharṣamalla Bhalloka in the reign of Jayārjunadeva, when *śrī-*

1) First published 1958.
2) Published by Regmi, I, 330.
3) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 31.
4) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 105.
5) Published by Regmi, I, 330.
6) Partly published in *CPMDN*, I, 88.
7) Published by K. P. Jayaswal, "An unrecorded invasion of Nepal", in *JBORS*, 22 (1936), 81–95. Re-edited by Yogi Narahari Nath in *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, I, 10/12, 13–17, and in *Sandhipatrasaṅgraha*, 244–245; also by Regmi, III, 21–24.

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Jayasthitimalla, *kṣatraratnākarendu*, was protecting Nepal; the two are described in another passage as *dvayo-rājñor-indropendrasamānayoḥ*, which apparently indicates a *dvairājya*. The date is verified for Wednesday, October 13th, 1372, except for the *yoga*, which ended on October 4th.

8) Ms. *Hitopadeśa*, Cambridge University Library Add. 2564. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 493 Pauṣa-badi-tṛtīyāyāṃ tithau | Magha-nakṣatre | Āyuṣmāna-yoge | sanicara-vāsare | samāptam-iti | śrīmato Nepālamaṇḍale M.-P.-Pb.-samastaprakriyābhirājamāna-śrī-śrī-Jayārjjunadevasya vijayarājye likhitam-idaṃ | parārthena | Lalitāpurī Mānigalotara Sothaṃnimapaṃtām-adhivāsiḥ Luntarājena svahastena likhitaṃ* | Written at Patan. The date is completely irregular. The *tithi* ended on January 12th, 1373, which day however was a Wednesday and not a Saturday; the *nakṣatra* ended on January 11th and the *yoga* on January 10th.

9) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, National Archives, III.360.4. Colophon [2]: .... *śrī-Lalitāpure mahānagaravare śrī-Kāraṇḍa-vihāra-livigrhādhivāsitaḥ paramasaugata-dānapati-Nātha-Bhārokasya yad-atra puṇyaṃ.... Samvat 494 Caitra-śukla-caturdaśyān-tithau Uttaraphalgunī-para-Hasta-nakṣatre Dhruva-yoge soma-vāsare | R.-P.-Pb.-śrī-śrī-Jayārjjunadeva-vijayarājye śrī-Tumaśrī-nāmmena svahastena likhitaṃ* || Written at Patan. The date is verified in all its elements for Monday, March 27th, 1374.

10) Ms. *Mahāmeghasūtra*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1689. Colophon [3]: .... *para[ma]saugata-paramakāruṇika-śrī-śrī-Citramahāvihārīya-śākyabhikṣu-śrī-Tejacandra-sthavirasya yad-atra puṇyaṃ* etc. | *Śrī-Nepālika-samvatsara 494 Bhādrapada-kṛṣṇa-navamyāṃ tithau Ādrā-nakṣatre bṛhaspati-vāsare | R.-P.-Pb.-śrī-śrī-Jayārjjunadeva(de)sya vijayarājye vajrācārya-śrī-Tumaśrī-nāmnena likhitam-idam-Mahāmegha-pustakam.* The Citra-vihāra, mentioned already on p. 68, was in Patan. The date is verified for Thursday, August 31, 1374.

11) Ms. *Mudrārākṣasa*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 2116. Colophon [4]: *Śrīmato Nepāla-maṇḍale M.-P.-Pb.-samastaprakriyāvirājamāna-śrī-śrī-Jayārjjanadevasya vijayarājye likhitam-idaṃ svārtha-parārtha-hetunā | Lalitapurī Mānigalottara Sothannimaṃ Lu[n]tarājena svahastena likhitaṃ* etc. | *Samvat 496 Mārggaśira-śukla-navamyāṃ | Revati-nakṣatre | Variyāna-yoge | āditya-vāsare likhitaṃ śubheti* || Written at Patan. The date is verified in all its elements for Sunday, December 2nd, 1375.

12) Ms. *Ratnakaraṇḍaka*, National Archives IV. Modern copy (949 NS) of an old ms. Colophon of the original [5]: ..... (long row of titles) *P.-Pb.-śrī5-Jayārjunadevasya vijayarājye Nepāla-maṇḍale Lalitāpurī-nāmadheye nagare saptaphaṇālaṃkṛta-śrī-Maṇināga-śiromaṇididhitibhir uddyotamāne śrī-Māṇigalake* || .....*sa eva nagare śrī-Citramahā[vihā]rādhivāsinā sattvārthahetunā Rāmadattena svahastena likhitam iti* || *śreyo 'stu saṃ 496 Mārgaśila-kṛ[ṣṇa] 8 Hasta-na[kṣatra] Sobhana-yo[ga] āditya-vā[sare] samāptam-idaṃ* || Written at Patan. The late is verified for Sunday, December 16th, 1375.

13) Ms. *Bhojadevasaṅgraha*, National Archives, I.1692.4. Colophon [6]: *Śāke samvat 1297*

1) First published 1958. Mentioned by Bendall, *History*, 29.
2) Published in *CPMDN*, II, 18.
3) Partly published in *CBMC*, 176.
4) Partly published in *CBMC*, 176,
5) First published 1958.
6) Published by A. Gargano, "Una nuova leggenda di Śudraka nel *Ratnakaraṇḍaka*", in *RSO*, 26 (1951), 78–79.

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Phālguna–śukla–dvitīyāyāṃ Revatī–nakṣatre śukradine śubhalagne likhitam–idam pustakaṃ | rājye śrī–śrī–Jayārjunadevasya etc. The date is verified for Friday, February 22nd, 1376.

14) Ms. *Vasudharānāmadhāraṇīparisūtra*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 10757. Colophon [1]: ... *śrī–śrī–Lalitābrumāyāṃ śrī–Mānigalottara–mahāvihāre Vaṃgāracche adhivāsita–rājakanakakāra–Jotatārokasya... | R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayārjjunadevasya vijayarājye | śreyo 'stu | Samvat 499 Caitra–śukla dvādaśī–para–trayodaśyām Pūrvvaphālguṇī–pare Uttaraphālguṇī–nakṣatre Vṛddhi–yoga–pare Dhruva–yoge budhavāre likhitam–idaṃ pustakaṃ | śrī–Yokhyasthāna–bahāra lacchavaṇṭa vajrācārya–śrī–Śāntamatinā likhitaṃ.* Written in the Yogha–*vihāra* in Patan. The date is verified in all its details for Wednesday, March 30th, 1379.

15) Ms. *Amarakoṣa*, National Archives, V.590. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 401* [sic for 501] *Bhādrapada–śukla–dvādaśyāṃ Dhaneṣṭha–nakṣatre ādita–vāsare | R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–ṣrī–Jayārjjunadevasya vijayarājye likhitamiti | śrī–Mānīglasthānādhivāsinaḥ Cā–vihara vaidya śrī–Jasarāja–nāmnena likhitam.* Written at Patan by a doctor from the Cā Bahil (Carumati–*mahāvihāra*) near Kathmandu. The date is verified for Sunday, September 1st, 1381.

16) Ms. *Amarakoṣa*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1488. Colophon [3]: *Śrīmat–Nepālika–samvatsare "Samvat 500 Mārgga"* (these words are written over in quite modern ink) *śukla–śrī–pañcamyāṃ tithau Revatī–nakṣatre Sādhya–yoge soma–vāsare śrīmat–Lalitāpurī–nivāsita–mahāpātra–Campusiṃhadevānām–adhyayanārthaṃ puṣtakaṃ Amarasiṃhena likhapitaḥ vajrācārya–śrī–Jayacandrena likhitamiti.* On the back: *śrī–Nepāla–samadhi–bindu–vikhaye Māghāsite māse śrī–pañcamyāṃ tithi Citara–śaśidine yata Ganda–yogatita | Nepāla–bhuvamaṇḍaleśvara prabhūpate .. kalpadrume.... Jayār(a)jana ..... lokāmṛma* (? for *ta*) *bhūpatir–astalokavana...* Written at Patan. The dates are badly misspelt, tampered with, and difficult to read. The first one is quite evidently wrongly corrected by the later hand who wrote the year and month. Jayārjunadeva died in 502, so the only years we have to consider are 500, 501 and 502, as it is impossible that the figure of the hundreds can be wrong. We can also assume with a fair degree of certainty that *Mārgga* is either an abbreviation for Mārggaśira or a mistake for Māgha. Now, the only year and month, within these limits, for which the date can be completely verified (*pakṣa, tithi, nakṣatra, yoga*, day of the week) is 502 Māgha; it is Monday, January 20th, 1382. – The second date is hardly intelligible, but it apparently refers to the death of Jayārjunadeva (*deva...lokāmṛta...*), which we know from V³, f. 60 *b* to have happened in 502 Magha *kṛṣṇa* 5. Thus the date in the colophon must be read as follows: *Nepāla–sam[vat]–dvi–bindu–vīṣaye* (= 502) *Māghāsite māse śrī–pañcamyāṃ tithau Citra[–nakṣatre] śaśidine yate Gaṇḍa–yogātīte*; it is verified for Monday, February 3rd, 1382.

From all these elements we can gather with certain that Jayārjunadeva reigned from February or March or April 1361 till February 3rd, 1382.

His position was always rather weak. He ruled directly over

1) Published in *CSMASB*, I, 45–46, n. 45.
2) Published in *Bṛhatsucipatra*, IX (2026 V.S.), 1011–.
3) Published with some misunderstandings in *CBMC*, 119.

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Bhonta and his sovereignty was recognized also in Patan, where, however, power was in the hands of the *mahāpātras*. His suzerainty over Bhatgaon was absolutely nominal, and soon it was completely rejected. Characteristically, the Tipura regent had profited of the illness and death of Jayarājadeva for sending a force against Nuvakoth (March 17th, 1361); that outlying district, upto then autonomous, was completely subdued [1]. In practice, this meant an increase in the power and resources of Tipura, not of the titular king.

And yet, as far as we know, the uneasy arrangement concluded in 1347 worked more or less smoothly as long as Devaladevī lived. After having dominated Nepalese politics for almost forty years, that wily old lady died on April 18th, 1366 [2]. After her demise Jayasthitimalla, who may have chafed under her control, became the sole master in Bhatgaon, although formally he was only the husband of the rightful ruler. At first the tollerable relations with Bhonta continued, but then peace broke down and a long tussle began between the two rival families, i.e. practically between Jayasthitimalla and Jayasiṃha Rāma, the all–powerful minister of Jayārjunadeva.

On March 30th, 1369, Jayārjunadeva and Jayasiṃha Rāma Mahātha entered Tipura and stayed there for some time(?) [3]. This visit, if such it was (the translation of the passage is doubtful), would purport a moment of almost cordial relations between the two houses. This collaboration continued for some time; on January 3rd, 1370, the two kings (*ubhaya–rāja*) together took Sankhu, looted it completely and put it to the torch [4]. In 1372 the Svayambhū Nāth inscription (Doc. 7 above) still shows the "two kings ruling together like Indra and Viṣṇu (Upendra)".

By that time, however, the balance of power had already shifted, and the turning point was reached when Jayasthitimalla won over the notables of the old capital Patan. We may have expected them to support Jayārjunadeva, who was their kinsman; we recall that his paternal grandmother was the daughter of Rājendrapāla, a *mahāpātra*

1) 481 Caitra *śukla* 11; V³, 54*ā*. Cf. Dh. Bajracharya and T. B. Srestha, *Nuvakoṭ ko aitihāsik rūprekhā*, Kathmandu 2032 VS, 39.

2) 486 Vaiśākha *śukla* 7; V³, 54*a*.

3) 489 Kārttika *śukla* 10; V³, 54*b*.

4) 490 Māgha *śukla* 5; V³, 54*b*–55*a*.

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of Patan. Thanks to heavy bribing by Jayasthitimalla, the aristocracy of Patan went over to his side. On April 28th, 1370, "Jayasthitimalla betook himself to the procession (*yātra*) [of Matsyendranāth] in Mānigal of Patan. He entered Mānigal through [a gate of] gilt copper covered with cloth. He gratified many leaders and chiefs (*pramukha–nāyaka*) presenting them with pieces of gold. Foremost among them was Jayata Mulami". The latter became soon after the prime minister (*mahātha*) of the Bhatgaon ruler. Jayasthitimalla restored order by strong means, putting to death some Patan robbers who had committed theft in the treasure of Paśupati Nāth [1].

The feud between Tipura and Bhonta flared out in the open when Jayasiṃha Rāma tried to recover the lost ground. He plotted to raise a rebellion against Jayasthitimalla, but on May 3rd, 1372, he was clapped in prison. This act roused strong discontent among the aristocracy of Patan, and two months later (June 9th) they rebelled and marched to Thimi. Jayasthitimalla himself took the field against them and a battle was fought; the rebels were defeated and fifty–three of their leaders (*pradhāna, nāmadhārī, pātra* etc.) were killed [3]. After this lesson the rebels submitted; but Jayasthitimalla did not carry matters to an extreme, and on July 30th Jayasiṃha Rāma was liberated [4].

Still the stubborn Bhonta minister was loath to acknowledge defeat. Three months later he was again intriguing, and at last he took the field against the Tipura leader. On Tuesday, September 12th, 1374, Jayasthitimalla met and defeated the united forces of his opponents near the Pim Bahal in Patan; the *mahātha* and the nobles (Bhāro) of Pharping were taken prisoners [5]. This battle was decisive, and for some time Jayasiṃha Rāma Mahātha ceased to oppose Jayasthitimalla, by then the unquestioned master, but by name, of the Nepal Valley.

The remaining years of Jayārjunadeva's nominal reign were eventless. We only read that Jayasthitimalla consolidated his grasp of the

1) 490 Vaiśākha *śukla* 3; V³, 56*b*.
2) 492 Vaiśākha *badi āmāvasya* ;V³, 55*a*.
3) 492 Āṣāḍha *śukla* 9; V³, 55*a*.
4) 492 Śrāvaṇa *āmāvasya*; V³, 55*b*.
5) Āśvini *śukla* 6–7, *aṅgāra*, Jyeṣṭha–*nakṣatra* (verified); V³, 56*a*.

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Valley by the construction or restoration of several castles: at Baharkoth in 1375, at Thakha and Phiśiri (?) in 1378 (V³, 55*b*, 57*b*). Of course we must remember that these accounts are heavily biased; the chronicle was written at the court of Jayasthitimalla and is therefore mostly dedicated to glowing tales of his building activities, donations to temples etc.

As was inevitable in the course of events, in the end the de-facto ruler saw no reason why he should not become the de-jure sovereign as well. The action he took was characteristically cautious and respectful of the aura of legitimacy still clinging to Jayārjunadeva, and above all of the feelings of the nobles and peoples of Bhonta. His main counsellor and helper was his prime minister Jayata Mulami. On Friday, November 23rd, 1380, Jayasthitimalla and Jayata Mahātha, with the consent of the chief nobles (*pramukha*), sent Jayārjunadeva to Banepa, ostensibly on pilgrimage (*yātra*) [1]. This implied his exclusion from any activity in the Valley; it was tantamount to deposition and exile.

Jayārjunadeva made a last feeble attempt to vindicate his authority. Twenty-two days after his arrival, he left Banepa and betook himself to the castle of Gokarṇa; shortly after he proceeded to Bhatgaon (V³, 59*b*). This is apparently the situation depicted in an undated colophon, which I now refer to this period:

Ms. *Daśakarma*, National Archives, I.1179.1. Colophon [2]: *Svasti śrī-R.-śrī-śrī-Jayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye likhita-pustakaṃ | tasmin samaye apa[ra]-rājyasya rājā-śrī-śrī-Jayārjjuna-nāma-rājā Tripura-rājasacivena pravāhitena mahāsaṃkaṭena praviśati* || "In the reign of king Jayasthitimalla; in this time the king of the other kingdom, by name Jayārjjunadeva, entered (the Valley?) with a great danger caused by the royal councillor of Tipura".

The text is not clear, and other interpretations are possible. Accepting my translation, it would mean that a Tipura minister had gone over to Jayārjunadeva, and had induced him to advance on Bhatgaon [3]. In any case, there was widespread unrest. Jayasthitimalla, who for the first time is given the royal title, made short

1) 501 Mārgaśira *kṛṣṇa* 12, Svāti-*nakṣatra*, *śukradina* (verified); V³, 59*b*.

2) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 39, where several words are omitted and the colophon is wrongly attributed to a ms. of the *Mayūracitra*, I.1179.5. Again published in *Itihās Saṃśodhana*, 2 (2011 VS), 5.

3) The interpretation of Regmi, I, 338, is more of less on the same lines.

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work of his rival, arresting him and confining him in Bhatgaon. And in his forced residence in Tipura Kvāchem (an annexe to the royal palace) Jayārjunadeva died on February 3rd, 1382 [1]. With his death, apparently without male issue, the Bhonta royal family came to an end.

Jayasiṃha Rāma's role in these proceedings in unknown. We can hardly assume that he approved of the change. Apparently he tried for a moment to set himself up as regent for the vacant throne; on June 21st, 1382, the Itham Bahal inscription shows him as Lord-Protector of the Realm (*pratipālika–vijayarājye*) (see later, p. 151). But the attempt was doomed from the start, as he lacked the formal cover of a legitimate pretendent to the throne; and almost at once he must have resigned himself to the inevitable. In the following years he participated peacefully in the religious life of the country.

1) 502 Māgha *kṛṣṇa* 5; V³, 60*b*. Cf. V¹, 30*a*: *bhagnadevaḥ vaśāj–Jayārjjunadeva–nṛpo*.

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CHAPTER VII

JAYASTHITIMALLA AND THE KARṆĀṬA-MALLAS

Jayasthitimalla (1382–1395)

The date of the exile of Jayārjunadeva (November 23rd, 1381) was considered as the beginning of Jayasthitimalla's reign, as expressly stated by the final stanza in the first part of the old chronicle (V[1], 30*a*). The formal proclamation took place on September 15th, 1382, when Jayasthitimalla gathered all the noblemen (*bhāro*) and accepted their homage and offerings (*prasāda*) [1].

Beside the Svayambhū Nāth inscription of 1360 and the undated colophon quoted above (p. 135), no less than thirty-three documents of this reign are extant:

1) Ms. *Yuddhajayārṇava*, National Archives, I.1624.4. Colophon [2]: *Samvat pta* (= 4) × × [*Ā*]*ṣāḍha–śukla–saptamyān–tithau Hasta–nakṣatre Śiva–yoge ādityavāre* | *śrī–śrī–Jayasthirājamalladevasya vijayarāje likhitaṃ* || The second and third figures of the year are illegible and H. P. Shastri's date of 426 is absurd. Having applied the necessary tests, we find that only the year 493 fits *all* the elements of the date, which is verified for Sunday, June 26th, 1373, between 20 h. 45 m. and 24 h.
2) Copper-plate inscription on the wall of the Gorakṣanātha temple [3]; dated *499 devo Gorakṣo dvitīya udayatithi .... śrī–śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladeva pratisvāmi sa ādeśa...* The year corresponds to 1378/9.
3) Ms. *Nāradasaṃhitā*, National Archives, I.1231.4. Colophon [4]: *Nepāle Sthitirājamalla–nṛpatir–bhūpāla–cūḍāmaṇis....* | .....*Śrī–Nepālika–vatsare kha–kha–śara* (= 500) *pakṣe śite Phālguṇe māse cāgni* (= 3)*–tithau śurāpati–dine* | *Bhaktapuripaṭṭane rājye śrī–Sthitirājamalla–nṛpateḥ Rājalladevī–pateḥ.....Luntabhadreṇa vajrācāryena dhīmatā mantrīndra–Jayatasya....* | *Śrī–Nepālike samvatsare 500 Phālguna–śukla–tṛtīyāyāṃ guruvāsare* | *śrī–śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye Bhaktapure āmātya–Jayata-*

1) 502 Āśvini *śukla* 8; V[3], 60*b*.

2) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 84, with the year wrongly read and all the rest of the date omitted.

3) Published in *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, 1/6, 5–6; cited by Regmi, I, 358.

4) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 43.

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varmmanaḥ pustakam–idaṃ.... śrīman–āmātya–Jayato ripumantripraudhavuda prasara–visphuraṇoruvāyuḥ | svasvāmikarya–paripalana | vāyusunu pātyāt prajāni nijasutānīva sarvvadevaḥ. Written at Bhatgaon. The date is verified for Thursday, February 9th, 1380.

4) Ms. *Guhyakālīnirvāṇapūjā*, National Archives, V.351. Colophon [1]: *Śreyo 'stu samvat 501 Vaiśākha–kṛṣṇa–ṣaṣṭamyāṃ somavāsare śrī–Bhavabhūteśvara–kuṭumbaja..... Jagatarāmena likhitaṃ | śrī–śrī–Sthitimalladevasya vijayarājyam–iti.* There was no *saṅkrānti* in Vaiśākha, and the month of our colophon corresponds to *adhika*–Vaiśākha in the Sūrya Siddhānta. The date is verified for Monday, April 15th, 1381.

5) Ms. *Jñānadīpavimarṣiṇī*, in private possession in Nepal. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 503 Bhādra śukla 12 aṅgāra–vāsare Śravaṇa–nakṣatre .... śrī–Jayasthitimalladevasya rājarājasya dhīmataḥ..... Bhaktapura–rājye likhitaṃ.* Written at Bhatgaon. There was no *saṅkrānti* in Bhādrapada, and the month of our colophon corresponds to *nija*–Bhādrapada in the Sūrya Siddhantā. The date is verified for Tuesday, September 8th, 1383.

6) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, Cambridge University Library Add. 1395. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 505 Kārttika–śukla–aṣṭamyāṃ tithau saniścara–vāsare | śrī–śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarāiye likhitaṃ* || The date is verified for Saturday, October 22nd, 1384.

7) Ms. *Mahālakṣmīmāhātmyasamuccaya*, National Archives, I.1645.4. Colophon [4]: *Samvatsare bhūta–kha–pañca* (= 505)*–śeṣe māse śite Śravaṇa–jīvavāre | Pūrvvādiṣāḍhe ṛkṣye kāma*(= 13)*–tithau dineṣu sampūrṇṇam–idaṃ śāstraṃ | yasmin–nṛpeśa–Sthitirājamallaḥ samasta–sāmanta–bhuvaṃ bhunakti* etc. The date is verified for Thursday, July 20th, 1385.

8) Ms. *Hitopadeśa*, National Archives, V.867. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 505 Asuni–kṛṣṇa–navamyāṃ tithau Puṣya–nakṣatre Śiva–yoge bṛhaspati–vāsare | R.–śrī–śrī–juvarāja–Jayasthitimallasya vijayarājye dānapati śrī–Hāṭiglasthāne suvarṇakāra Ratnabhārokasya* etc. Written in the Hagal Bahal in Patan. The date is verified for Thursday, September 28th, 1385, except for the *yoga*, which ended on the 27th.

9) Ms. *Tripurasundarīpūjāpaddhati*, National Archives, I.1584.4. Colophon [6]: *Samvat śukra–śaunya–vaktre* (= 506?) *Kārttika–śukla–pañcamyāṃ tithau Jaiṣṭha–nakṣatre sūraguru–vāsare | śrī–Bhaktapurī–nivāsinaḥ śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladevasya vijaya* (sic) *Yubilacche–tolakastha–Jantarāmena likhitam–iti.* Written at Bhatgaon. The *tithi* and *nakṣatra* indicate October 8th, 1385, which day, however, was a Sunday and not a Thursday.

10) Ms. *Hariścandropākhyāna*, Kaisher Library, n. 67/1. Colophon [7]: *Śrī–śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarāje | tasyāmātya Kvānche–tolke 'dhivāsi śrī–Jayatabrahmaṇasya mahābhilāṣā | puruṣārthena likhitam–iti | śreyo 'stu samvat rasābhra–bāṇa–yūtā* (= 506) *Māgha–māsa–śuklapakṣa–saptamyāṃ tithau āditya–vāsare* || The Kvanche is a building adjacent to the royal palace in Bhatgaon. The date is verified for Sunday, January 7th, 1386.

1) Published by Regmi, I, 358.
2) Published in *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, 1/10–12, 84–85; cited in Regmi, I, 359.
3) Published in *CBMC*, 84.
4) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 84.
5) Published by Regmi, I, 358–359.
6) First published 1958. The reading of the date was corrected by Regmi, I, 353.
7) First published 1958.

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11) Ms. *Amarakośa*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1698. Colophon [1]: *Śrī–śrī–Jayasthitiśasya malladevasya bhūpateḥ | amātya śrī–Jayadbrahmā svāmikāryaparāyaṇaḥ || .....ṣaṭttare pañcaśate gate 'bde Nepālike māsi ca Caitra–saṃjñe | kṛṣṇapakṣe madanābhidhāyāṃ tithau śaśāṃkātmaja–vāsare ca || śrī–Jayasthiti–bhūpāle Nepāla–rāṣṭra–śāstari | śrīmadBhaktapure deśe grathitva likhitaṃ tadā || ..... śrīman Nepālika–samvatsare 506* (*CBMC*: misprinted as 509) *Caitra–kṣṛṇa–trayodaśyāṃ budha–vāsare R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Paśupati–caraṇāravindasevita–śrī–Māneśvari–varalabdhapratāpa–śrī–śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye* etc. Written at Bhatgaon. The date is verified for Wednesday, March 28th, 1386.

12) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, National Archives, III.382.2. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 507 Kārttika–śukla–pratipadyāyās–tithau budha–vāsare Viśākha–nakṣatre Śobhana–yoge | Śrī–Nepāla–maṇḍalādhirājye śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladevasya vijasya vijayarāje* etc. The date is verified in all its particulars for Wednesday, October 24th, 1386.

13) Ms. *Caṇḍakauśika*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta n. 8065. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 507 Mārggaśira–śukla–dvitīyāyāṃ tithau śaniścara–vāsare vijayarājye śri–Jayasthitirājamalladevasya* | The date is verified for Saturday, November 24th, 1386.

14) Ms. *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṅgraha*, National Archives, I.1078.17. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 507 Māgha–śukla–triyodaśyāṃ pustakam–idaṃ samāpteti | adya śrī–Bhaktapurī–nagare śrī–Kupvaṃsthāyāt Śivagalasthāne thitimukhe vidyāpīṭha ... || śrī–śrī–Jayathitimaladevasya vijayarājena* || Written at Bhatgaon. The date corresponds to February 1st. 1387.

15) Ms. *Mahālakṣmīvratamāhātmya*, Kaisher Library, n. 21. Colophon [5] *Rājaśrī–Sthitirājamalla–nṛpatau R. 'pi sann–abde sapta–kha–kāmavāśasahite* (= 507) *Nepālike nirgate śukla cāśvini pañcamī–tithi yate candrātmaja–vāsare* (= *budha*) *vyākhyānaṃ likhitaṃ* || The date is verified for Wednesday, September 18th, 1387.

16) Stone inscription in the compound of Sundhārā at Deo Patan [6]. It is mainly a poetical *praśāsti* in honour of the deceased queen Rājalladevī. It mentions with high praise her three sons Jayadharma, Jayaiyotir and Jayakīrtimalla. In her honour her husband Jayasthitirājamalla built a *praṇālī* (fountain). The date is given twice, first in the body of the poem, and then in prose at the end. The king is mentioned as *śrīman–Māneśvarī–varalabdhakṛpāya śasitānya mahīpāla–śrī–śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladevena*. The date is *Nepālika Samvat 508 Mārgaśira–śukla–daśamyāṃ bṛhaspati–vāsare Revatī–nakṣatre Variyāna–yoge Gara–karaṇe Biccha–rāśi*; it is verified in all its particulars for Thursday, November 21st, 1387.

17) Ms. *Vāmakeśvaratantra*, National Archives, I.1075.3. Colophon [7]: *Nepāla–samvat vasū–vyoma–bāṇe* (= 508) *sa–Pauṣa–kṛṣṇa–tithi–saptamī ca | samāpta lekhikṛta Hasta–ṛkṣe Śukarma–yoge budha–vāsare ca || nitisthiti–dharma–dayāsthitiñ–ca dānasthitityāga–guṇas–tathaiva | kīrti–thiti–Sarvavinodam–etat dhairyasthiti śrī–Jayathitirāma | Jayathitirāma tava Kīrticandra praśannarupa kṣasumāyudhasya|māpūryatesan yadi kalpavṛkṣa virājate śrī–Jayatithirāma | Ādityavarmaṇā likhite miya pustake | Gokarṇasaṭadākote*

1) Published in *CBMC*, 187–188.
2) Published in *CPMDN* ,II, 78–79.
3) Published in *CSMASB*, VII, 252–253, n. 5316.
4) First published 1958.
5) First published 1958, and again by Sakya–Vaidya, 26.
6) First partly published 1958; fully edited by Regmi, III, 27–29.
7) First published 1958.

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sādhucittena likhyate || *śrī–śrī–Bhoṭarājyadhirāja–śrī–śrīmat–Paśupatibhaṭṭārakasthāpanācārya–śrīmat Kanteśvarī–paricaraṇa–paribala–labdhaprasādāt śrī–śrī–Mahindreśvara–prasādāyyatana–nirmātyaka–pāka–Raghukulavaṃśabibhrājiteṣu śrī–Gopinārāyaṇetyadisakala–birudāvalī–samalaṅkṛta samasta–prakriyā–virājamāna–parameśvara–mahāmātya–śrī–Jayasiṅgharāmasya vijayinaḥ* | The date is verified for Wednesday, January 1st. 1388.

18) Ms. *Itihāsasamuccaya*, National Archives, IV.52. Colophon [1]: .... *līnaparākitā sumanasāṃ nāthāyudhe vopamā seyam śrī–Bhaktāpuli .....yuvanāpabhau* || *aṣṭādhike tathā pañcaśate Nepāla– hāyane Caitre–śukla–dvitīyāyāṃ Aśvini–ṛkṣye kuge hani* | *śrī–Jayasthitirājena rakṣite rājyamuttamaṃ* | *Bhūdevānvayajātena likhitaṃ* | Written at Bhatgaon. The date is verified for Tuesday, March 10th, 1388.

19) Copper plate in the main shrine at Nhaikan Bahil in Kathmandu [2]. Dated *śrīman–Sthitirājamalla itiyo lokārttirakṣāvrati.... aṣṭottare pañcaśate gate 'bde Nepalike Jyeṣṭha site daśamyāṃ* | *tithittare Phālguṇa saṃjñake 'bhe Śuddhyākṣa–yoge bhṛgu–vāsare ca* ... And again: *śreyo 'stu samvat 508 Jyeṣṭha–śukla–daśamyāṃ Uttaraphalguṇa–naksatre Śuddhi–joge śukra–vāsare R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye*. The date is verified for Friday, May 15th, 1388.

20) Ms. *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*, National Archives, V,833. Colophon [3]: *Sa 509 Pauṣa–śukla–pratipadyāyāṃ likhitam–idaṃ śrī–Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa–śrī–Kīrttipuṇya–mahāvihāre śrī–Luntabhadrena amātya–śrī–Jayatabhramasya pustakaṃ* || *śrī–śrī–Jayasthitimalladevasya vijayarāje*. Written in the Nhaikan Bahil (Kīrttipuṇya–*mahāvihāra*) in Kathmandu. The date corresponds to November 30th, 1388.

21) Ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata*, Kaisher Library, n. 559.3. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 509 Vaiśāgha–kṛṣṇa–navamyāṃ pra–daśamyāṃ tithau Uttarabhadra–nakṣatre Āyuṣmāna–yoge bṛhaspati–vāsare* | ..... | *śrī–R.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladevasya rājya–vijayarājye likhitam–iti* | ....*śrī–Māniglake śrī–Dakṣiṇavihāre* etc. Written at Patan. There was no Mithuna *saṅkrānti* in Jyeṣṭha, and this gives an intercalary Pauṣa. The Vaiśākha of this colophon corresponds therefore to *adhika*–Jyeṣṭha in the Sūrya Siddhānta, and the date is verified in all its elements for Thursday, May 20th, 1389.

22) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1701.1. Colophon [5]: ..... *śrī–Lalitakramāyāṃ śrī–Māṇiglake śrī–Vaccha–vihārādhivāṃta–śākyaputra–paransaugata–saṅgha–śrī–Malekṣajajakasya ..... Samvat 509 Jyeṣṭha–śukla–daśamyāyāṃ tithau śukra–vāsare R.–śrī–śrī–Jayasthitirājama[lla]sya vijayarāje śubhaṃ* || Written at Patan in the Si Baha (Śrīvatsa–*mahāviharā*). As explained under n. 21, Pauṣa was intercalary, and therefore Jyeṣṭha of this colophon corresponds to *nija*–Jyeṣṭha in the Sūrya Siddhānta. The date is verified for Friday, June 4th, 1389.

26) Ms. [*Tithi*]*sārasaṅgraha*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1663. Colophon [6]: *Śukrama* (= *Sukarman*) *yoge dva–Mārgaśira–māse 'śita–navamī Yeṣṭhajīvañ–ca* | *Śukrama* (= *Sukarman*) *yoge dva–indvendu–sarā* (= 511) *likṣitimiti* | *daivajña–Gajarāja–nāmanoyam likṣiti tasya pustakam* | *R.–P.–Pb.–Nepālesvara–śrī–śrī–Jayasthitirājamaladevasya vijayarājye* || The date

1) First partly published 1958; more fully by Regmi, I, 355.

2) First published by Sh. Rajbamshi in *Pūrṇimā*, 4 (2021 VS), 54–57; and again by Regmi, III, 30–31.

3) Published by Regmi, I, 359.

4) First published 1958.

5) Published in *CBMC*, 191.

6) First published 1958.

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is irregular. *Tithi* and day of the week correspond to Thursday, December 1st, 1390; but the *nakṣatra* ended on December 6th, and the *yoga* on December 3rd.

24) Stone inscription on the steps of the temple of Gorakṣanātha in the jungle of Pharping [1]. Dated *Samvat 511 Māgha–śukla–śrī–pañcamyān–tithau Uttarabhadra–nakṣatre Siddhi–yoge budha–vāsare R.–P.–taragaṇatoraka–śrī–śrī–Jayasthirājamalladevasya vijayarājye | śrī–Śikharāpurā–nagaryāṃ* (= Pharping) *śrī–Jayajuthasiṃhadevaiḥ sa–bhrātṛbhiḥ pratipalitayaṃ.* The date is verified in all its details for Wednesday, January 11th, 1391.

25) Copper–plate inscription over the main gate of the Woku–baha Bahi, i.e. the subsidiary court of the Rudravarṇa–*mahavihara* in Patan [2]. Very elaborately dated: *Athā Kali–rājavarse 4492 Vikrama–rājavarṣe 1448 Śāka–rājavarṣe 1313 śrimatNepālika śreyostu samvat 511 prathamāṣāḍha–śukla–daśamyāyāṃ ghaṭi 25 velā ekādaśyāyām tithau kapiladine Vati–karaṇe śaśidhare 51 Svāti–nakṣatre ghaṭi 49 tasmāt nava–nakṣatre pratisthāpitaṃ Śiva–yoge ghaṭi 15 pra–Siddhi–yoge soma–vāsare Mithuna–rāśi–gate savitari Tula–rāśi–gate candramasi.* There was no Kanyā *saṅkrānti* in Bhādrapada, which gives an intercalary Āṣāḍha. The date is verified in all its numerous elements for Monday, June 12th, 1391. It was made *R.–P.–Pb.–sya śrī–Jayasthiti–rājamalladevasya vijayarājye.*

26) Ms. *Aghorapūjā*, National Archives, I.135.9. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 511 Śrāvaṇa–śukla–daśamyāṃ śrī–śrī–Pb.–P.–śrī–śrī–Jayathitirāja vijayā* (sic) *likhitaṃ* || Āṣāḍha being intercalary, the Śrāvaṇa of this colophon corresponds to *adhika*–Bhādrapada of the Sūrya Siddhantā. The date corresponds to August 9th, 1319.

27) Ms. *Ārya–Kāraṇḍavyūha*, Kaisher Library, n. 5. Colophon [4]: *Śrī–Lalitabrumāyāṃ śrī–Mānigalottara–mahāvihāre śrī–Panti–vihāra livi stha.... R.–P.–Pb–.śrī–śrī–Jayasthitimalladevasya vijayarājye | śreyo 'stu | Samvat 511 Śrāvaṇa–māsa–kṛṣṇa–pañcamyāṃ Caitra–nakṣatre Dhruva–yoge śaniścara–vāsare likhitasampurṇṇam–iti śubhaṃ* || Written in the Pinta Bahi (Gopicandra *mahāvihāra*) in Patan. Āṣāḍha being intercalary, this Śrāvana corresponds to *adhika*–Bhādrapada of the Sūrya Siddhānta. The date is verified for the late hours of Saturday, August 19th, 1391. with the exception of the Citra–*nakṣatra*, which ended on the 5th and apparently had been referred to the *śukla–pakṣa* of the same month.

28) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, in private possession in Bhatgaon. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 512 Caitra–śukla–daśamyāṃ tithau Magha–nakṣatre Śūla–yoge jina–vāsare sampūrṇadine | R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Jayasthirājamalladevasya vijayarājye Nepālamaṇḍale śrī–Blunvihārāvasthita vi–vidhividyāgamābhava śriman Bodhibhadrena likhitam–iti* || The Blun (Bhun?) *vihāra* seems to be unknown. The date is verified for Wednesday, April 3rd, 1392.

29) Stone inscription in the compound of the temple of Kumbheśvara at Patan [6]. It

1) Partly published 1958; full edition by Regmi, III, 31.
2) Partly published 1958; full edition by Regmi, III, 31–33.
3) First published 1958.
4) First published 1958.
5) Published by Regmi, I, 359.
6) Published by C. Bendall, *Journey in Nepal and Northern India*, pp. 83, 85, n. IX. This seems to be the same inscription mentioned in VW with the wrong date of 542; Wright, p. 183. Cf. Bh. Indraji, "Some considerations on the history of Nepal", in *Ind. Ant.*, 13 (1884), 414. Re–edited more completely by Dh. Bajracharya, *Itihās Saṃśodhana Pramān Prameya*, Lalitpur 2019 VS, 3, and Regmi, III, 33–34.

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begins: *Svasti | Śrī–Nepālika–samvat 512 Vaiśākha–kṛṣṇa–ṣaṣṭyān–tithau Gara–karaṇe viśvamūhurte Śravaṇa–nakṣatre Aindra–yoge āditya–vāsare..... P.–Pb.–śrī–Māneśvarīvaralabdhaprasāda–Asura–Nārāyaṇetyadi–vividhabiruda–rājāvalipūrva–saptaprakriyā–samalaṅkṛta–M.–śrīman–Jayasthitimalladevena sambhujyamāna [vija]yarājye | śrīmat–saptakuṭumbaja–pradhāna–mūrttyaṅga–mahāpātra śrī–tribhayapātra–pramukhādibhiḥ sampālyamane.* The date is verified in all its details for Sunday, May 12th. 1392.

30) Ms. *Śalyaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, National Arvhives, I.1693.1. Colophon [1]: *Samvanti trayodaśādhika–pañcaśate Nepāla–vātsare Kārttika–kṛṣṇa–pakṣe ca dvādaśyāṃ kujavāre | śrī–Jayasthitimallasya paṭṭavad–dharmya–bhubhujaḥ rājye Nepāladeśe smin likhitaṃ Śalyaparvvakaṃ | Nepāla–bhumaṇḍala–rakṣaṇāya dharāvatīrṇṇau madhuke ṭhanāriḥ (?) | aśeṣasāmanta–śiromaṇi–śrī–mahīpatīndro Jayasimharāmaḥ | sapuṇyakīrttiḥ sukṛtaikasiṃdhur–Anekarāmasya kulakaratnaḥ idam | śrīman–Mānikarājena vajrācāryena dhīmatā likhitam.* The date is verified for Tuesday, November 12th, 1392.

31) Ms. *Gadāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, National Archives, III.803.29. Colophon [2]: *Trayodaśādhike pañcaśate Nepāla–vātsare Āṣāḍha–kṛṣṇa–khaṣṭyāmī śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladevasya paṭṭavad–dharmya bhubhujaḥ rājye Nepaladeśe smin likhitaṃ Gadāparvaṇikaṃ | Nepāla–bhūmaṇḍala–rakṣaṇāya dharāvatīrṇṇau madhuke ṭhavāri | aśeṣasāmanta–śiromaṇi–śrī–mahīpatīndro Jayasiṃharāmaḥ | sa–puṇyakīrttiḥ sukṛtaikasiṃdhur–Anekarāmasya kula–karabhe idaṃ Mahābhāratam–etad–evaṃ vyālikhañ–ca* etc. The date corresponds to June 30th, 1393.

32) Ms. *Guhyasiddhikrama*, National Archives, I.1692.6. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 514 dur–Ākhāḍha–mā[sa]–śuklapāsa–pañcami–p[r]a–khaṣṭyāyāṃ tithau Uttaraphalguni–nakṣatre Parigha–joge śanaiścara–vāsare Kraḍharāśi gate śavitṛ Śimharāśi pra–Kanyārāśi gate candramāśi | śrī–śrī–Bhaktagrāme śrī–śrī–Jayathitirājamaladevasya vijayarāiye* etc. There was no Siṃha *saṅkrānti* in Śrāvaṇa and this gives an intercalary Āṣāḍha. The date is verified in all its elements for Saturday, July 4th, 1394.

33) Ms. *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 4725. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 515 Māgha–śukla–tṛtīyāyāṃ tithau Punarvvasu–nakṣatre Siddhi–yoge āditya–vāsare saṃpūrṇadine | dānapati śrī–Lalitakramāyāṃ śrī–Mānīglasthāne śrī–Puneśvara–vihāra–grhādhivāsinā Abhayamāla–Bharokasya pustakam–idaṃ | R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye śrī–Nepāla–maṇḍale likhitam–idam Yaṃpiṃ Bihāl..... Rāmadattena.* Written at Patan. The date cannot be verified; the *tithi* and the day of the week correspond to Sunday, January, 24th, 1395, but the Punarvasu *nakṣatra* ended on February 2nd and the Siddhi *yoga* on January 22nd.

Another date of Jayasthitimalla is 515 Māgha *śukla* 10 (= February 15th, 1395), when he performed a *koṭyāhutiyajña* [5].

The date of his death is given in a note on the last leaf of a ms.

1) First published 1958 and then again by Dh. Bajracharya in *Purṇima*, 7 (2022 VS), 28.

2) First published 1958.

3) Partly published in *CPMDN*, I, 87.

4) Published in *CSMASB*, I, 29, n. 31.

5) Wright, 187.

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of the *Bhāratīya–Nāṭyaśāstra*, National Archives, V.323, in the following terms [5]: *Yāte kāmaśaraikabhūtasahite* (= 515) *Naipālike hāyane ṣaṣṭhyāṃ Bhādrapade 'site ravidine ṛkṣe tathā Sraṣṭari* (= Rohiṇī) | *madyāhne Sthitirājamalla–nṛpatiḥ svarggavirohaṃ gato hāhākāraravaḥ saśokavacana vyāptaṃ prajānān mukhaṃ*. The date is verified for Sunday, September 5th, 1395.

Jayasthitimalla's title to the throne was not inherited from his oscure father Aśokamalla, but reposed only on the rights of his wife Rājalladevī. In most of the ms. copied at Bhatgaon (the seat of his wife's family) he is consistently denied the royal title, being simply styled *śrī* and sometimes *nṛpati*. His status as the husband of Rājalladevī is stressed at least thrice: in doc. 3, doc. 16 and in the ms. of the *Abhinava–Rāghavānanda–Nāṭaka* to be cited further on. Rājalladevī died in 506 Kārttika *śukla* 2, Svāti *nakṣatra*, Priti *yoga*, *bṛhaspati* (V³, 67*a*); the date is verified for the last hours of Thursday, October 5th, 1385. But even after this, he is never given the royal titles in the Bhatgaon mss. (with the exception of doc. 12), nor in the Deo Patan inscription. It is only at Patan that he is granted the full royal style of R.–P.–Pb. His constitutional position was apparently as follows. He joined in a personal union the kingdom of Patan and the principality of Bhatgaon, which, however, maintained their separate individualities. At Bhatgaon, to which no royal style was attached, he ruled as the prince–consort of Rājalladevī; shortly before her demise, he is even given the title of heir–apparent (*yuvarāja*) (Doc. 8). After this event he became the titular prince of Bhatgaon, and as such he did not use locally the royal style. In the nominal capital Patan he was recognized as the successor of Jayārjunadeva, and as such he was entitled to the full royal title. This situation is clearly reflected in Doc. 15 with its quaint style of "*rāja* who is also *rājādhirāja*". Jayasiṃha Rāma Mahātha, who considered himself as the heir of the rights of the extinct Bhonta dynasty, punctiliously underscores the fact that Jayasthitimalla was reigning *paṭṭavad–dharmya*, which I take to mean "by the right [of his coronation] with an *infula*" (Doc. 30 and 31). In a way, Jayasthitimalla was king only in a limited sense.

[5] The note was first published by Dh. Bajracharya, *Itihās Pramān Prameya*, 38, and in *Itihās Saṃśodhana* (2010 VS), 7.

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This reign marks on the whole the end of a period of division and the restoration of order. Jayasthitimalla did not abolish the feudal structure of the country, nor the growing autonomy of Patan; but he curbed, at least for a moment, the lawlessness of most of the turbulent aristocracy. Even Jayasiṃha Rāma accepted for a while his paramountcy. But during the last years of his rule Jayasthitimalla seems to have lost his grip of the situation. Not only Bhonta emphasized again its autonomous status, but other border feudatories tried to break away from the central power, as shown by the following colophon:

Ms. *Nāmasaṅgītiṭippanī*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1108. Colophon [1]: *Dvādaśottara–pañcaśataṃ prayāte vihāte vihāyase* (?) | *Pauṣa śukle navamyāñ–ca saṃpūrṇa–guruvāsare* || *R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Gaṇḍakīvaralabdhaprasāda–kara–vālakara–lalita–virājyamāna–śrī–Vīra–Nārāyaṇāvatamśa–śrī–śrī–Ratnajyotirdevasya vijayarāje* || *śrīman Nepāla–kamala–kallikopama–śrī–Mullapanarī–nagaryāḥ samāgatā Navakoṣṭa–mahāpaṭane samavasthitena Vīrasiṃhanāmadheyasya svacchātraratnacandena sahitena likhitaṃ* etc. Mullapanarī is utterly unknown and Navakoṣṭa in its neighbourhood may be Nuvakoth or some little place in the Chaubisi Raj. The date is verified for Thursday, January 4th, 1392.

This claim to absolute independence shows a serious weakening of the Nepalese government. But before this happened, Jayasthitimall's reign meant the end of a long period of troubles and restoration of order. A significant symptom of this is the quite large number of colophons and inscriptions belonging to the fifteen years or so of his sole rule.

All the modern chronicles present him as a legislator who left his mark in many fields. Some of his enactments were of purely ceremonial or ritual character. Such were the regulations for the cremation ceremony of the deceased king, which was to be attended by his subjects of all castes. He even laid down the rules for the musics to be played at the funerals both of the king and of private persons; he gave also minute descriptions of the dress and footgear for each caste. More relevant was his intervention in the field of penal law; he prescribed that henceforward criminal offences (apparently of minor character) were to be punished by fines, and not by beating and

1) Published in *CBMC*, 30.

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abuse, as it has been the rough-and-ready method before him [1]. He introduced new regulations concerning the classification of the cultivated fields (in four classes); a similar one applied to the houses and to the building estates. In both cases the measures expressed the value and not the surface of the terrain or house. The result was a real ground survey of lasting value, which in the 19th century excited the admiration of Hodgson [2]. He granted, or rather renewed, the permission to his subjects to sell or mortgage freely their hereditary landed property [3], which seems to be a duplication of the old law of Ānandadeva. Most important of all, he attempted to reduce the whole structure of Nepalese society into an orthodox Hindu frame; this reform will be discussed in a later chapter (see pp. 205–206).

Jayasthitimalla's legislative activity is passed under silence by the contemporary sources [4], and we ignore how far he can be held responsible for it. But according to tradition his re-organization of the caste structure remained theoretically valid till recent times, although deeply modified through the centuries.

From the religious point of view, he shared the devotion of most of his contemporaries for Rāma. At the birth of his first son Jayadharmamalla in 487 be caused a drama on Rāma's deeds to be played (V[1], 29*a*). Another play, the *Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa* (of Rājaśekhara?) was performed on the occasion of Jayadharmamalla's initiation ceremony in 497. Again in 503 a drama on the story of Rāma and Vibhīṣaṇa was represented at the court of Bhatgaon (V[1], 30*a*). This was the *Abhinava-Rāghavānanda-Nāṭaka* by Māṇika, which is preserved in a ms. of the Cambridge University Library, Add. 1658 [5]. At Jayadharmamalla's wedding the *Bhairavānanda-Nāṭaka* by the same author was performed [6]. Jayasthitimalla was a devotee of Vi-

1) These rules are given both in Wright's Buddhist chronicle, 183–184, and in Padmagiri's Hindu chronicle in B. J. Hasrat, *History of Nepal*, 55–56.

2) These items are given only in Wright, 110. See the remarks and comments by S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, 298–299.

3) This enactment is found only in Hasrat, 55.

4) The only hint seems to be supplied by the title *Nepāla-rāṣṭra-śāstṛ* given to the king in his Doc. 11.

5) Colophon published in *CBMC*, 159–161.

6) Ms. in the National Archives, I.1078.2; *CPMDN*, I, 119–120. Cf. R. K. Choudhary, "Sanskrit Drama in Mithilā", in *JBRS* 43 (1957), 43–44.

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ṣṇu, as witnessed by the title of Daitya–Nārāyaṇa, which he is given in the preface to the *Abhinava–Rāghavānanda–Nāṭaka*, and of Asura–Nārāyaṇa in the inscription of 521. He took as his protecting deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) the ancient goddess Māneśvari, who filled that position as long as the Malla dynasty reigned. But he was also a devotee of Śiva, as he had to be in a country where Paśupati was the national god. Two Śaiva *svāmi* played a great role at his court. One was Śivadāsa Upādhyāya, who on May 5th, 1380 bestowed the religious initiation on the king and his queen [1]; he died on June 25th, 1387 [2]. The other was Dvijarāja Upādhyāya, who is mentioned in 1379, 1383 and 1388 [3].

Most of the old–style aristocracy rallied to Jayasthiti Malla. Foremost among them was Jayata Mulami. We have already followed his career down to 1380. In that year he is mentioned in the chronicle (V³, 59*a*) and sponsored the copying of Doc. 3, where he is given the titles of *amātya* and *mantrīndra* and the full name Jayatavarman. In 1381 he seconded Jayasthitimalla in engineering the exile of king Jayārjunadeva; at that time his title was changed to Jayata Mahātha, becoming thus the prime minister of Nepal. If he is identical wich the *amātya* Jayatabrahmā mentioned in 1386 and 1388 (Doc. 10, 11, 20), then he died after the latter year.

Jayadharmamalla (1395–1408).

The succession of Jayasthitimalla devolved on his three sons Jayadharmamalla (b. 1367), Jayaiyotirmalla (b. 1373) and Jayakīrtimalla (b. 1377). They did not divide the kingdom among themselves, but reigned for some years collegiately, with the eldest, Jayadharmamalla, acting in some respects as their representative. Twenty–two documents of this period are extant:

1) Ms. *Cāṇakyaṃ Sarvvasārasaṅgrahakṛtarājanītyādivāṇijye Pustakaṃ*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 10723. Colophon [4]: *Samvacchara ṛtu–dig–bāṇaḥ* (= 516) *yujJyeṣṭha–saptamī śukle pakṣe ravir vāre lakṣa siddhikṛte śubhaḥ śreyo 'stu samvat 516 Jyeṣṭha–śukla–saptamī ādita–vāsare siddhi–dinam || Svasti śrī–M.–P.–Pb.–ṣrī–Māneśvarivarala-*

1) 500 Vaiśākha *āmavāsya*; V³, 59*a*.
2) V¹, 29*a*; V³, 62*b*, 63*b*. 507 Aṣaḍha śukla 9; V³, 63*b*.
3) V¹, 29*a*; V³, 62*b*, 63*b*.
4) Published in *CSMASB*, VII, 405, n. 5486.

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bdhaprasāda–mahāpratāpavān jaurāja–śrī–śrī–Jayadharmamalladevasya vijayarājye tasyānuja–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotirmalla kaneṣṭha–Jayakīrtimalla traya mahānubhāva–pritiyuktānena śrī–Nepālamaṇḍala samasta dharmamārge putravat pratipālitā. The date is verified for May 14th, 1396.

2) Ms. *Śyāddantakośa*, National Archives, V.418. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 516 Āṣāḍha–śudi–pratipadyāyāṃ tithau budha–vāsare Punarvvasu–nakṣatre yuvarāja–śrī–śrī–Dharmamalladevasya vijayarājye samaye | śrī–Byanappāna–deśe Nahyapatanavare brahmakūlendra–vipra–śrī–Jīvaśarmaṇasya yathābhilikhitamanoratha pustakaṃ idaṃ* etc. Written in the district of Byanappāna, which may be Banepa. The date is verified for Wednesday, June 7th, 1396.

3) Ms. *Śivadharmaśāstra*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 2836. Colophon [2]: *Svasti śrī–Khāraṇimaṃ–janmasthānādhivāśino vipra–śrī–Hakojuśapātha–kṛtena || likhitaṃ pustakaṃ Śāntikādhyāyam || tasmin samaye śrī–R.–jeṣṭhaḥ jorāya–Dharmmadeva madhya–śrī–Jayajyotimalladevaḥ kaneṣṭha–Jayakīrttimaladeva traya–saṃmate rājye kṛtaṃ | śreyo 'stu samvat 516 Śrāvaṇa–kṛṣṇa–saptī śubhaṃ |* The place is not known. The date corresponds to July 27th, 1396.

4) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, National Archives, n. ?. Colophon [3]: *R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayadharmamalladevasya vijayarājye || Samvat 516 Bhādrava–śukla–dvādaśyāṃ tithau Uttrāṣāḍha–nakṣatre Saubhāgya–yoge budha–vāsare likhitam–idam śrī–Hamulādhivāsa–vajrācārya–śrī–Maṇikarājacandrena svahastena lekhitam ||* The date is verified for Wednesday, August 16th, 1396.

5) Ms. *Aśvavaidyakaśāstra*, in private possession at Patan. Colophon [4]: *Svasti śrī–Naipālika–vatsara muni–mahī–kandarpa–bāṇe yute māse Bhādrapade site guṇa–tithau somātmaja–vāsare śrīmat–śrī–Jayajyotirmalla–nṛpateḥ rājñānukartālikhat lekhi lekhavidambaro Jasapati śrī–Vājiśāstrottamaṃ || sakalaguṇanidhāno dharmikīrteḥ nidāna–samaravanavihāri vairidarpāpahāri aṃtilakaraṇibhaṅga kāminīnāṃ anaṅgo jayati nṛpatimallo śrī–Jayajyotimalla || Oṃ śreyo 'stu samvat 517 Bhādrapada–śukla–ṣaṣṭhyāṃ tithau Anurādha–nakṣatre Viṣkambha–yoge budha–vāsare R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayadharma–Koma[lla]devasya vijayarājye śrī–śrī–Jyotirmalladevasya prabho Jayadatta pustakaṃ Koligrāma–samavasthita Jasapati–nāmnā likhitamiti.* Written at Koligrāma, the archaic name of Licchavi times for Yambu, i.e. Kathmandu North. The date is verified for Wednesday, August 29th, 1397, with the exception of the *yoga* which ended on September 2nd.

6) Ms. *Saptaśatī*, National Archives, I.1534.2. Colophon [5]: *Yuvarājādhirāja–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Dharmmamalladevasya vijayarājye | Samvat 518 Māgha–kṛṣṇa–daśamyāṃ tithau Uttarāṣāḍha–nakṣatre Śukla–yoge budha–vāsare likhitam–idaṃ pustakaṃ ||* The date is irregular. The *nakṣatra* and the day of the week indicate Wednesday, February 13th, 1398; but the 10th *tithi* ended on the morning of the 13th, and the Śukla *yoga* on the 29th.

1) Published by Regmi, I, 373.

2) First published 1958. Mentioned by C. Bendall, "Notes on a collection of mss. obtained by Dr. Gimlette", in *JRAS* 1888, 551, n. VI.

3) Published by Regmi, I, 373.

4) Published by Regmi, I, 373–374.

5) Published with some omissions in *CPMDN*, I, 64. The date of this ms., misread by H. P. Shastri as 118, misled S. Lévi to postulate a Malla kingdom in the Valley about 1000 A.D.

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7) Ms. *Bṛhajjātaka*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 2834.1. Colophon [1]: *Graha-induś-ca bhutābdā* (= 519) *prathamaṃ Kārttika-suciḥ* | *Āyuṣmān-śukra-Svatiś-ca samāpta-pustakā-śubhaṃ* | *sa-ṭikkā bṛhajātakā likhitā svalpabudhināṃ* | *daivajña-Gajarājena svātmārthaṃ* etc. | *Bhaktāpurī-nagaryāṃ ca trayorājā virājate* | *Dharmma-Jotiś-ca Kīrttiś-ca jeṣṭha-madhya-kaniṣṭhake* | Written at Bhatgaon. The date is verified in all its elements for Friday, October 11th, 1398.

8) Ms. *Guptakālitantra*, Library, Kaisher n. 557. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 520 Bhādrapada-śukla-traiyodaśyāyāṃ tithau Dhaniṣṭhā Sukramāni* (= Sukarmani) *yoge buda-vāsare* (sic!) | *śubham-astu* | *śrī-yuvarājādhirājā-P.-Pb.-śrī-śrī-Jayadharmmamalladevasya vijayarājye likhitam-iti* || The date is verified in all its particulars for Wednesday, September 1st, 1400.

9) Ms. *Daśakriyā*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1664. Colophon [3]: *Pretāśauvaṃ tathā khyātaṃ munīnāṃ daśanādhikaṃ rākāṃ sayamābhṛtāndāṃ navami ca śuklāśvinā* | *śukra meravottrāṣāḍha samāptā pustakā śubhaṃ* | ..... | *daivajña-Gajarājena svārtha-parārthahetunā* | *Bhaktāpurī-nagaryāṃ ca trayorāja virājate* | *Dharmma-Yotiś-ca Kīrttiś-ca jeṣṭha-madhya-kaniṣṭhake* | ..... | *Samvat 520 Aśuni-śukla-navami sammāptam-iti* || Written at Bhatgaon. The date is irregular. The *tithi* and *nakṣatra* point to September 26th, 1400, which day, hovewer, was a Sunday and not a Friday.

10) Ms. *Galavokta-Mahālakṣmīmāhātmya*, National Archives, V.366. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 521 Kārttika-kṛṣṇa śukra-vāsare Hasta-nakṣatre R.-P.-Pb.-Jayadharmamalladevasva vijaya rājye*. The date is verified for Friday, November 12th, 1400.

11) Ms. *Durgāsaptaśatī*, National Archives, V.681. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 521 Vaiśākha-śukla-pañcamyāṃ tithau Mūla-nakṣatre Śiva-yoge āditya-vāsare śrī-śrī-Paśupati-caraṇa-kamala-sevita-śrī-śrī-śrī-Māneśvarīṣṭadevatā-varalabdhaprasāda-Vīra-Nārāyaṇa-juvarāja-śrī-śrī-Jayadharmamalladevasya vijayarājye* | *Nepāle 'smin mahīpatiśvaro dātā guṇagrahako dīnānāṃ sakalārthināñ-ca mahato saṅkalpavṛkṣopamajātaḥ sūrya-kalāvataṃśatilake sarvān ripun nirjito vīra-śrī-Jayakīrttimalla-nṛpati-śrī-Rūpa-Nārāyaṇa-bhūpottamu sakalanītividāṃ variṣṭo nāṭyāṅga-śāstraguṇa-gītamahāpraviṇa-satsundarī-hṛdayamphanamanmatha śrī-śrī-Kīrttimalla-ṇṛpati ripucakramalla tasyājñāṃ śirasādhṛtvā lipikarena mahātmanā Jasapatinā samalikha Gaṇḍīmāhātmyaṃ pustakaṃ*. The date is wholly irregular; the *tithi* corresponds to April 18th, 1401, which day was a Monday and not a Sunday; the *nakṣatra* ended on May 1st and the *yoga* on April 29th.

12) Ms. *Vivāhakhaṇḍa* and *Ratnakośa*, National Archives, III.391. Colophon [6]: *Śaśi-padā-bhūtājñātu* (= 521) *kṛṣṇāśvini pratipadā bhṛgu Revati Vyāghātaṃ śubhalagne ca samāptaṃ daivajñā-Gajarājena svārtha-parartha hetunā* | *Bhaktāpurī-nagaryāṃ ca trayorāja virājate* | *Dharma-Jotiś-ca Kirttiś-ca jeṣṭhamadhyakaniṣṭhake* || *pustakaṃ ca daivajñā-Gajarājasya* || Written at Bhatgaon, by the same scribe who wrote doc. 7 and 9. The date is verified in all its details for the beginning of Friday, September 23rd, 1401.

1) First published 1958. Summarized by C. Bendall, "Notes" etc., in *JRAS* 1888, 551, n. IV; cf. also C. Bendall, *History*, 48.

2) First published 1958.

3) First published 1958. Summarized in C. Bendall, *History*, 15 and 28.

4) Published by Regmi, I, 374.

5) Published by Regmi, I, 374.

6) First published 1958, although the ms. is listed in *CPMDN*, II, 85.

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13) Ms. *Narapatijayacaryāsvarodaya*, National Archives, I.1179.3. Colophon [1]: *Bhaktāpurī–nagaryāṃ ca trayorājā virājate | Dharmma–Jotiś–ca Kirttiś–ca jeṣṭhamadhyakaniṣṭhake || śreyo 'stu | Samvat 522 Bhādrapada–śukla–dvādaśi Śravaṇa–pra–Dhaniṣṭā–nakṣatre Śukrama (= Sukarman)–pra–Dhṛti–yoge śukra–vāsare śubhalagne samāptam–iti* || Written at Bhatgaon. There was no Kanyā *saṅkrānti* in Bhādrapada, and Āṣāḍha was intercalary. The month here indicated, therefore, corresponds in the Sūrya Siddhānta to *nija*–Bhādrapada. The date is verified in all its elements for Friday, September 8th, 1402.

14) Ms. *Nityāhnikatilaka*, National Archives, I.1320.8. Colophon [2]: *Devapattana–nagare śrī–Navagṛhasthāne śrī–Yubukunihmagṛhādhivāstavya śrī–bhūtacikitsakavaidya–Udayabrahmakasya pustakaṃ svayamevārthena likhitam–idaṃ | Samvat 523 Kārttika–kṛṣṇa–caturdaśyāṃ .....bṛhaspati–vāsare R.–P.–śrīmat–śrī–śrī–Juvarāja–Jayadharmamalladevasya vijayarājye.* Written at Deo Patan. The date is verified for Friday, November 23rd, 1402.

15) Stone inscription at the base of the back side of the Caṇḍeśvarī temple at Paśupati Nāth [3]. Dated *Samvatsare 523 Māgha–śukla–pūrṇimāyāṃ candra–grāse Magha–nakṣatre Sukrama–yoge budha–vāsare || śrī–śrī–Pb.–juvarāja–Jayadharmmamalladevasya madhyamānuja śrī–śrī–Jayajyotimalladevasya kaniṣṭhānuja–śrī–śrī–Jayakīrttimalladevasya teṣāṃ vijayarājye śrī–Damodarabhaṭṭasya putra dātā śrī–Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa* etc. The date is verified for the second half of Wednesday, February 7th, 1403, when there was a lunar eclipse.

16) Ms. *Grahagaṇita*, Kaisher Library, n. 82. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 523 Caitra–śukla–dvādaśi budhadine samāptaṃ śubhaṃ | R.–Juvarāja–śrī–śrī–Dharmmamalla–devasya vijayarājye || śrī–Yaṃbukramāyāṃ.* Written at Kathmandu. The date is verified for Wednesday, Aprile 4th, 1403.

17) Badly damayed stone inscription before the water–conduit of Thabu Tol at Patan [5]. It begins: *Śrīyo* (sic) *stu | Samvat 523 Vaiśākha–kṛṣṇa–dasamyāṃ tithau Āyuṣmān yoge budha–vāsare Vṛṣa–rāśi–gate savitari M[īnarāśi–gate caṃ]dre || juvarāja rāja–śrī–śrī–Jayadharmmamalladevasya vijayarājye.* The date is verified for Wednesday, May 16th, 1403.

18) Stone inscription on the dilapidated temple of Mahādeva to the right of Sundhārā at Patan [6]. It begins: *Namaḥ Śivāya || athaḥ śrī–Kali–rājavarṣa 4401 śrī–Vikrama–rājavarṣa 1461 śrī Śakarājavarṣa 1325 śrī–varṣaḥ Naipālikaḥ śreyostu samvat 524 Caitra–kṛṣṇa–aṣṭamyāṃ tithau Uttarāṣāḍha–nakṣatre Sādhya–yoge bṛhaspati–vāsare || yuvarājādhirāja–śrī–śrīmajJayadharmmamalladevasya vijayarājye śrī–śrī–Kumāradevatādhiṣṭhita–śrī–Nogalasthāne* etc. The date is verified in all its details for Thursday, April 4th, 1404.

1) First published 1958.

2) Barely listed in *CPMDN*, I, 47. Partly published 1958. Full text by G. Bajracharya, "Vṛjikarathyā", in *Pūrṇimā*, 6 (2022 VS), 13.

3) Partly edited 1958. Full text in Regmi, III, 39–40.

4) First published 1958.

5) The date only published by C. Bendall, *History*, 15. Fully edited in Regmi, III, 40.

6) Date published 1958. Edited (with some mistakes) by Narahari Nath, *Itihās Prakāś*, I, 59, and (correctly) in Regmi, III, 40–41. The date has been discussed by Sh. Rajbamshi, "Paṭan Sundhārāko abhilekhmā raheko rājā ra samvat viṣayako vicār" in *Pūrṇimā*, 5 (2022 VS), 9–16.

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19) Ms. *Dharmanirṇaye Tithisārasaṅgraha*, National Archives, I.1634.11. Colophon [1]: *Nepālika–samvat 525 Mārggaśira–kṛṣṇa–tṛtīyā–para–caturthyāṃ tithau Punarvvasu–nakṣatre Śukra–yoge bṛhaspati–vāsare Biccha (=Vṛścika)–rāśi–gate savitari Mithuna–rāśi–gate candramasi śrī–śrī–R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Dharmamalladevasya vijayarāje likhitaṃ–idaṃ* || The date is verified in all its elements for Thursday, November 20th, 1404.

20) Long stone inscription on the wall of the image of Bhagavatī in the Kochu Tol at Pharping [2]. It begins: *Svasti Nepālabhupeṇḍe khyātā śrī–Śikharāpurī* (= Pharping) ..... | *tatkṣaṇe cāsti nṛpatir–Nepālamaṇḍalādhipaḥ* | *yuvarājādhirāja–śrī–śrī–Jayadharmmamallakaḥ* | *Sūra[ki ×]kula candro 'sau śrī–Jayajitrasiṃhakaḥ* | *śrī–Jayayodhasiṃhaś–ca śrī–Rāmasiṃhakas–tatha* | *śrī–Devasiṃha ityete Śikharāpattanādhipāḥ* | *Vīrāpratāvaṃtaś–ca nītijñājitavairiṇaḥ* | *prajānuraktādharmmajñāḥ kalpavṛkṣo svārthināṃ* | *etair–bhūpatibhiḥ saṃpālitā Śikharāpurī* etc. The date is given twice; it is (second one): *Samvat 527 Phālguṇa–śukla–tṛtīyāyāṃ tithau Revatī–nakṣatre Śukla–yoge śukra–vāsare* | *samastaprakriyāsamalaṅkṛta–yuvarājādhirāja–śrī–śrīmajJayadharmmamalladevasya vijayarājye* || *śrī–śrī–Jhaṃkeśvarī–varalabdhaprasādetyādi–birudāvalī–vibhājamāna–samastaprakrityāsamalaṅkṛta–Rāvutta–śrī–Jayajaitrasiṃhadeva* | *tathā Rāvutta–śrī–Jayayodhasiṃhadeva tathā Rāvutta śrī–Rāmasiṃhadeva* | *tathā Rāvutta–śrī–Devasiṃhadeva etair–bhūpatibhiḥ saṃpālite* | *śrī–Śikharapaṭṭananagare Kocholasthāne* etc. The date is verified in all its elements for Friday, February 11th, 1407.

21) Inscription on the Garuḍa pillar before the temple of Bakupati Nārāyaṇa in the Sūryamādhi Tol in Bhatgaon [3]. It begins: *Namo Nārāyaṇāya* | *svasti śrīmanNaipālika–samvatsare 528 Māgha–śukla–pūrṇamāśyān–tithau Śukra–vāsare* | *sapuṇyakīrti sukṛtaikasindhu narottamaḥ* | *narottama–śrī–Jayadharmamallaḥ* | *sajjanānandaka–kalpavṛkṣaḥ* | *tasyānujaḥ śrī–Jayajotimallaḥ* | *tayorājye* etc. The date is verified for Friday, January 13th, 1408.

22) Inscription on a slab of stone by the door of the Rājeśvarī temple to the south of the temple of Paśupati Nāth [4]. Dated *śrīmanNaipākila–samvatsare 528 Māgha–kṛṣṇa–aṣṭamyāṃ tithau āditya–vāre Jeṣṭha–nakṣatre śrī–śrī–R.–P.–Pb.–ityadi–śrī–śrī–yuvarāja–Jayadharmamalladeva tadanuja śrī–śrī–Jayajyotirmalladeva tad–ubhayasya vijayarājye*. There was no Vṛṣabha *saṅkrānti* in Vaiśākha, which gives an intercalary Pauṣa. This Māgha corresponds to Phālguṇa in the Sūrya Siddhantā and the date is verified for Sunday, February 19th, 1408.

Jayadharmamalla is ignored by the later chronicles, which telescope his rule together with that of his father. And since we have no longer the help of V³ and VK, we remain completely in the dark about the events of this reign.

His position, as revealed by the available documents, is peculiar All the colophons and inscriptions from Bhatgaon present us with the

1) Published in *CPMDM*, II, 246.

2) Date first published 1958. Fully edited in Regmi, III, 42–44.

3) Date first published 1958. Fully edited in Regmi, III, 44–45, and in Sakya–Vaidya, 68.

4) Published by Regmi, III, 45–46.

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joint reign of the three rulers (*trayorājya*); the only change occurred at some time between 1403 and 1408 when Jayakīrtimalla died and his brothers continued to rule jointly. The bulk of the remaining documents, mostly from Patan, Kathmandu and neighbouring places, mention Jayadharmalla as the sole ruler, but give him the title *yuvarāja*, sometimes coupled rather awkwardly with the usual elements of the royal title (R.–P.–Pb.). Four documents, nn. 3 (place unknown), 5 (from Kathmandu), 10 and 19 (place unknown), allow to Jayadharmamalla the full royal title.

This shows that the old political organization of Nepal still survived under the sons of Jayasthitimalla. At Bhatgaon they ruled jointly, each of them with the same status and authority, without wearing the royal title. At Patan and in the rest of Central Nepal they were represented by the eldest brother Jayadharmamalla as *yuvarāja*, although some documents loosely but incorrectly apply to him the full royal style.

Of course one aspect of this situation sticks in the eyes and urgently requires some explaination; this is the title *yuvarāja*. We can anticipate that this problem is somehow connected with the developments in Bhonta.

Bhonta under the rule of the Rāma family

We have followed the career of Jayasiṃha Rāma down to the moment of the exile and death of Jayārjunadeva, whose chief minister (*mahātha*) he was. A flash of ligh upon the following developments is thrown by the following document.

Inscription on a stele in the quadrangle of Itham Bahal, Kathmandu [1]. Written *mahāmantryadhirājatilaka–Gopī–Nārāyaṇa–mahāmantrī–śrī–Jayasiṃharāmavarddhanasya pratipālita–vijayarājye*. He is stated to be *mahāmantrī–śrīmadAnekarāmavarddhanātmaja*. Mention is made of his uterine brother (*ekodarānuja*) *mahāmantrī–śrī–Madanarāmavarddhana*, the latter's wife Jaitralakṣmīdevī and their son *śrī–Śaktisiṃharāma*. The date is *Netrākāśe prapūrṇṇe saradiśu gate* (= 502) *yatra Nepāladeśe māse cāṣāḍhaśukle daśamī tithivare Svātije Sādhya–yoge vāre mārttaṇḍaputre*. It is verified for Saturday, June 21st, 1382.

With the help of this inscriptions, of a passage at the beginning of the ms. of the *Gadāparvan* above mentioned (Doc. 32 of Jayasthiti-

[1] Published in *Saṃskṛta–Sandeśa*, 1/10–12, 41–43; in *SPS*, 245; by Dh. Bajracharya in *Pūrṇimā*, 7 (2022 VS), 33–35; and by Regmi, III, 24–27.

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malla), of the chronicles, colophons, inscriptions and Chinese texts, we can reconstruct the family tree of the Rāma family as follows.

Jaitra Rāma
|
Jyoti Rāma (fl. 1323)
|
Aneka Rāma (first mention 1332, d. 1356)
|
Jayasiṃha Rāma (first ment. 1360, d. 1400) | Madana Rāma (fl. 1382–1399)
|
Śaktisiṃha Rāma (fl. 1382–1427)

What is more important, the Itham Bahal inscription shows that in the interval between Jayārjunadeva's death (February 3rd) and Jayasthitimalla's general recognition (September 15th, 1382) the old minister of Bhonta tried, in association with his brother Madana Rāma, to set himself up in the Valley as lord–protector of the realm.

This attempt at vindicating the rights of the vacant throne of Bhonta was doomed from the start, and in the following years Javasiṃha Rāma had to bow to the inevitable and to patch up a working agreement with the new king. The old chronicle shows him participating in some religious acts with Jayasthitimalla. On May 19th, 1385, both went to worship at the shrine of Paśupati and Jayasiṃha Rāma was the *yajamāna* of the rite. On December 27th, 1386, Jayasthitimalla and Bhvanta Jayasiṃha Mahātha made the gift of a *tilāpatra*. On April 22nd, 1387, Bhvanta Jayasiṃha Mahātha accompanied the king and his three sons in the Bugam (Bugmati Lokeśvara) pilgrimage [1].

Upon the slow decay of Jayasthitimalla's authority after the death of Rājalladevī and with his increasing old age, Jayasiṃha Rāma started to re–assert gradually his autonomy in Bhonta and his influence in the Valley. Already in 1388 the Doc. 19 of Jayasthitimalla, recognizing the authority of the king but playing upon his name in the form Jayathitirāma, Jayasiṃha Rāma is given a string of high–sounding titles, such as *parameśvara mahāmātya*. Even more significant is the re–appearance of the term *śrī–śrī–Bhoṭarājyādhirāja*, although this is not applied to the minister.

Three years later another document is more outspoken:

1) Dates: 505 Jyeṣṭha *śukla* 10, 507 Pauṣa *śukla* 6, 507 Vaiśākha *śukla* 8; V³ ,62*b*, 63*b*, 63*a–b*.

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Ms. *Kriyāsamuccaya*, Kaisher Library, n. 110. Colophon[1]: *Samvat 511 Kārttika-śukla-āmavāsyāpara pratipadā sūrya-grāse Svāti-nakṣatre āditya-vāre śrī-śrī-Bhuvanta-rājakula-śrī-Pilakhacos mahāmātya-śrī-Madanarāmavarddhanasya bhāryā-Jaitralakṣmi-Bhārisan ḍaṇḍaḥ | śrī-Jaitravara-mahāvihārayā dana dhvājā paryanta śrī-śrī-śrī-Bajāsan bhaṭṭāraka pratiṣṭhā kanaka-kalaśa-dhvajārohana jimanehnūṃ lakṣāhuti yāṅā | śrī-śrī-ubhe rājakula ekatva khaḍgaḥ sahitan...* It goes on relating a procession of Buddha Dīpaṃkara, with the names of the *ācāryas* who participated. This happened *R.-P.-Pb.-śrī-śrī-Jayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye śrī-śrī-Bhuvanta-rājakula-mahāmātya-śri-Jayasiṃha-rāmasya pratipālitarājye*. Written at Palamchok. The date is verified for Sunday, October 9th, 1390, when there was a sun eclipse.

The position is fairly clear. The formal overlordship of king Jayasthitimalla is acknowledged. So it also the formal unity of the two parts of the kingdom (*ubhaya-rājakula ekatva*) as symbolized by the State Sword. On a lower level, Jayasiṃha Rāma is the Prime Minister (*mahāmātya*) governing the Bhonta principality, while his younger brother, bearing the same title, is residing at Palamchok in the same Bhonta principality. Thus the separate identity of the former domain of Jayārjunadeva is affirmed.

Jayasiṃha Rāma tried to make his name renowned by a great and costly undertaking: the copying of the *Mahābhārata*. In the *praśāsti* which opens the first volume of the work he is praised for his piety and zeal in this enterprise, is credited with the foundation of Paśupati (*Paśupatisthāpanenāmarendram*, i.e. either repairs to the main temple or building of some secondary chapel) and is given the title of *śrīmān-bhūmahendra*[2]. As far as I know, only three volumes are still extant, viz. those containing the *Ādiparvan*, the first section of the *Śalyaparvan* and the *Gadāparvanika*, i.e. the *Gadāyuddhaparvan*, a sub-section of the *Śalyaparvan*. Considering them from the political point of view, the colophons of these volumes (Docs. 30 and 31 of Jayasthitimalla) show more or less the same position. Jayasthitimalla is recognized as king and Jayasiṃha Rāma is given the poetical title *aśeṣa-sāmanta-śiromaṇi*, acting for the protection of Nepal (*Nepāla-bhūmaṇḍala-rakṣaṇāya*). The autonomy of Bhonta is only slightly adumbrated in the title *sāmanta* (border feudatory). This may seem

1) Published by Th. Manandhar, "A leaf from the Bendall *vaṃśāvali*", in *CNS*, I/2 (1974), 101.

2) Ms. *Ādiparvan*, once in possession of the late Hemraj Sharman, *rājaguru* of Nepal. The *praśāsti* is reproduced in the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, vol. I, Poona 1933, pp. XIII-XIV. The editor does not tell us whether the ms. has a colophon.

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a step down; but it is explained by the fact that the *Mahābhārata* undertaking was regarded as an all–Nepalese affair.

During the last years of Jayasthitimalla any acknowledgement of his formal rule was silently dropped, at least locally in Bhonta, as shown by the following.

Stone inscription on the pedestal of an image of the Sun god near a water conduit outside the entrance of Banepa [1]: ..... *Śrī–śrīmatśrī–Jayasiṃharāma–rājñasyānuja–śrīmat–śrī–Madanarāmayā pālitau śrī–Banikāpurī–sthāne || saṃsthāpitā ādityamurtti devatā || dvija–śrī–Rājaśramena.... caturdaśottare bāṇa–śate gate 'bde Nepālike tapa–saptamyām tithau guru–vāsare Revatī–nakṣatre Sidhiyoge* etc. With the quite easy correction of Siddhi into Siddha–*yoga*, the date is verified in all its elements for Thursday, January 8th, 1394. The Brahman Rājaśarman in the same as Rājapatiśarman of the colophon of Jayasiṃha Rāma to be mentioned farther on.

Of course this is a half–private inscription, as no titles are given except the curious *rājña* attributed to Jayasiṃha Rāma. Still, the absence of the name of the reigning k ng is indicative.

After the death of Jayasthitimalla the powerful Bhonta chief tried to assume royal status as well as the regency of the kingdom, as it appears from the following document.

Ms. *Daśakarmapaddhati*, National Archives, I.1076.4. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 516 Kārttika–śukla–divāṣṭamyāyām tithau Pūrvāṣāḍha–para–Uttarāṣāḍha–nakṣatre Dhṛti–para–Gaṃda–yoge buddha–vāsare likhitam–idaṃ pustakaṃ | Nepāla pañca–bānāgni–rītu* (= 536) *māse ca Kārttike tathā | saṃpūrṇṇa–Daśakarmaśāstraṃ ca saṃrakṣate nidhi–nāmakaṃ | śrī–śrī–Bhoṃṭarāja–kulopadhyāya–śrī–Rājapatiśarma–ārādhena likhitam–idam | śrī–śrī–M.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Jayasiṃharāma–vradhanena pratipālikarāje | śrī–Pūrṇṇa–matideśe śrī–śrī–Indesūra–bhaṭārika–sthāne lekhitam–idaṃ śāstraṃ ||* The shrine of Indreśvara near Panaoti (Pūrṇamatī), south of Banepa, is an artistically outstanding monument [3]. In the first date, *Dhṛti–para–Gaṇḍa* is an obvious mistake for *Dhṛti–para–Śula*. *Nakṣatra*, *yoga* and day of the week are verified for Wednesday, October 20th, 1395; but the corresponding *tithi* is 6 and not 8. The second date was perhaps intended to be a repetition of the first; but it reads, against the rule, from left to right, and in any case the numeral word corresponding to the second digit means 30.

We notice in passing this Brahman Rājapatiśarman, chief *upādhyāya* of the Bhonta principality; we shall return to him presently.

The titles given to Jayasiṃha Rāma are somewhat contradictory; he bears the full royal style, and yet the word *pratipālikarājye*, already

1) Date published 1958. Fully edited in Regmi, III, 35–36.

2) First published in 1958; barely mentioned in *CPMDN*, I, 31.

3) See M. Slusser, "Indreśvara Mahādeva, a thirteenth century Nepalese shrine", in *Artibus Asiae*, 41 (1979), 185–218.

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met with in 1382, indicates not a reign, but a regency. The only possible explanation is that Jayasiṃha Rāma assumed (or was given by the scribe) royal status locally in Bhonta, while claiming the regency in the rest of the country. It is interesting to note that this did not pass without opposition even in Bhonta; about the same time a scribe writing in an obscure corner of the Banepa district recognized Jayadharmamalla as ruler, without even mentioning the Rāma brothers (Doc. 2 of Jayadharmamalla).

This seems the proper place for introducing a rather doubtful piece of evidence.

Inscription on a Sūrya image in the courtyard of a water-conduit at Nala near Banepa [1].
Dated *Samvat 517 Māgha-śukla | saptami-tithau | Aśvinī-nakṣatre | Śubha-yoga | ācārya upādhyā vipra śrī-śrī-Jivājus | śrī-śrī-Śivaśiṅgarāma-rāyas ekachatra | kaneṣṭa amātya śrī-śrī-Śaktiśiṅgarāmasya ubhayasya vijayarāje | Visakramārāja Mulamis Jayata Mulamis ubhayasya krani | śrī-Nārāṃ uparimastāne | jojamāna Gopati Mulamis samucaya nānā-loka eka-cetana* etc. The date is verified in all its details for January 6th, 1397.

This inscription, badly spelt and obscure, offers serious difficulties. Śivaśiṅga Rāma may be another name for Jayasiṃha Rāma; but it appears nowhere else. The title *rāja* has been met with already. The term *ekachatra* seems to indicate Śivaśiṅga's sole rule in Bhonta. It is rather unexpected to find here Śaktisiṃha Rāma with the title of junior minister (*kaniṣṭa amātya*) while his father Madana Rāma was still alive. A way out of the difficulties seems to be offered by Regmi's reading of the date: *Samvat* 527 [2], the date being verified for January 17th, 1407. In this case Jayasiṃha Rāma would be out of the picture, having died seven years before; Śivasiṅga Rāma would be a brother or cousin of Śaktisiṃha Rāma and the successor of Jayasiṃha Rāma as the head of the family. However, his name does not appear in any of the documents mentioning the members of the Rāma family. On the whole, it seems safer to accept the date 1397, notwithstanding its difficulties.

Jayasiṃha's new position, as it developped after the demise of

1) Partly published by Dh. Bajracharya in *Pūrṇimā*, 7 (2022 VS), 31; fully edited but with a different date, in Regmi, III, 41–42.

2) Regmi reads the month as *Mārgga[śira]*; but the verification shows that this is impossible both for 517 and 527.

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Jayasthitimalla, is fully confirmed by an important document, the date of which, however, is nearly obliterated.

Inscription in the quadrangle of Tyagal Tol, Deo Patan, near the western gate of Paśupati Nāth[1]: ..... || *svasti* || *R.–P.–Pb.–yuvarāja–śrī–śrī–Jayadharmmamalladevasya vijayarājye* || *śrī–śrī–Bhuvaṃta–rājakula–mahāmantreśvara* ...., *mahāmantryādhirāja–śrī–Jayasiṃharāmavarddhaṇena tadanuja* .... *paramamāheśvara–mahāmātya–śrī–Madanarāmavarddhaṇena saha pratipālita–rājye*. The inscription gives then the genealogy of *śrī–Rājapati–ārādhyā–śarman*, who is the youngest of the three sons of [*śrī–Nā*]-*rāyaṇapati–ārādhya–śarman*, son of *śrī–Śrīpati–ārādhya–śarman*, son of *śrī–Lakṣmīpati–ārādhya–śarman*, all of whom are given, among other laudatory epithets, the title of *Rāghuvaṃśodbhava–rājapurohita*. The lower part of the stone, mostly broken away, contained the date, of which the following fragments remains ...*dvitīya–Pauṣa–māse* ..... *vāsare* || *rājadhirā*[*ja*] .... *bhuga vijayarāje saśra* .... In the period between the beginning of the rule of Jayadharmamalla and the death of Jayasiṃha Rāma, Pauṣa was intercalary in one year only: 520 NS. The date must correspond to December 1399.

This inscription, set up in the very centre of the Valley and in its religious capital of orthodox Hinduism, helps us to understand the situation that developped after the death of Jayasthitimalla. In the Valley Jayadharmamalla reigned on behalf of his younger brothers, but Jayasiṃha Rāma and Madana Rāma acted as senior and junior regents. It is doubtful whether their authority (or their claim) extended to Bhatgaon; possibly it did not. At the same time the Rāmas tried to build up a sort of continuity with the extinct Bhonta dynasty of Jayārjunadeva by pushing to the fore, as the chief religious authority of the principality, the Brahman Rājapatiśarman, whose forefathers had been the hereditary household–priests (*purohita*) of the Bhonta family. This emphatical assertion of the Bhonta legitimacy, coupled with a sustained effort at exerting political influence in the Valley, helps (at least partly) to explain why the Bhonta ministers attempted and succeded in being recognized as the rulers of Nepal by the faraway emperor of China, to the detriment of the Malla kings (see Appendix II).

Jayasiṃha Rāma was by then an old man and his paramount position was brought to an end by his death, the exact date of which is supplied by what we may call his funeral epitaph.

1) Published in *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, I/10–12, 46–48, in *SPS*, 246, and in Regmi, III, 36–39.

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Copper-plate in the Indreśvara temple near Panaoti [1]: ..... *svasti* | *eṣa Pūrṇṇavatī ramyā khyātā Nepāla-maṇḍale* | *yatrāste bhagavān-devaḥ śrīmanIndreśvaraḥ Śivaḥ* | *atrāsijJayasiṃharāma-nṛpatiḥ prakhyāta-bhūmaṇḍale śrī-Bhagavān Śivaḥ Paśupatir-yena pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ* | *yenaivāpi Jayārjjuno narapatiḥ puṣpābhiṣekaḥ kṛto yenāsau Sthitirājamalla-nṛpatiḥ paṭṭābhiṣekīkṛtaḥ* | *kṛtvā yena tulārccanam-madhuripuṃ saṃsthāpya cEndreśvare dattan-tarta svadehatulyalanakaṃ grāse rave rāhunā* | *bhūyāścāpi hiraṇya-nirmitarathaṃ sāśvan-tathā hāstinaṃ ramyaṃ kalpataruṃ ca vipraviduṣe dānam-pradattam-mahat* | *sāṣṭādaśam-Bhārata-pūrvvapuṇyaṃ śāstraṃ samalekhayati sma dhīraḥ* | *Āraṇyaparvvākhyam-idaṃ hi śrutvā jagāma svargaṃ Jayasiṃharāmaḥ* | *Nepāle śaśi-netra-pañcagate* (= 521) *māse site Kārttike cĀśvinyāṃ sacaturdaśī-tithi-vidhau sūrye Vyatīpātake* | *rājyāṅgāni nidhāya bāndhavajane lokānukampākaro durdaivāj-Jayasiṃharāma-nṛpatiḥ śrī-Viṣṇulokaṃ yayau* | (great grief of the Brahmans and of the people; donation of images) | *samvat 521 Kārttika-śukla-caturdaśyān-tithau Aśvinī-nakṣatre Vyatīpātayoge āditya-vāsare thwo dina kunhuṃ mahāmantriśvara Jayasiṃharāma baḍa mahātha bhāros śrī-Viṣṇuloka-samprāpta juyā din juroṃ* | *thwo udeśanān śrī-Gopī-Nārāyaṇa-paramabhaṭṭārakas śrī-Parameśvaris sahita yāṅan suvarṇa-pratimā-dvayakaṃ Javasiṃharāma baḍa mahātha bhāros pratirūpa lin yāṅan pratiṣṭhā yāṅan thwo pūlas samān yāṅā din kuhnuṃ thāparapā jurom* | etc. The date is verified for Sunday, October 31st, 1400.

Thus according to his funeral record, which lays emphasis on his religious deeds, the main feats of Jayasiṃha Rāma were the renovation of the image of Paśupati, the anointing (*puṣyābhiṣeka*) of Jayārjunadeva, the coronation with an *infula* (*paṭṭābhiṣeka*) of Jayasthitimalla, the gift of a *tulārcana* and the gold-weighing of his body at Indreśvara on the occasion of the sun eclipse of 1390, the gift of gilt chariots, horses and elephants to the Brahmans, the copying of the eighteen cantos of the *Mahābhārata*. He died while listening to the *Vanaparvan* of the great poem. The image of Gopī-Nārāyaṇa erected on the occasion of his death at Panaoti was a portrait of the deceased.

As no name of donor is found in the Panaoti inscription, we cannot tell whether Madana Rāma was still alive in 1400. But it is likely that he died about that time. With the demise of the two brothers the position of the Rāma family collapsed.

From the Chinese texts we known that the heir of Madana Rāma was his son Śaktisiṃha Rāma. His residence was Palamchok and his power was now limited to Bhonta. The following document give evidence to this effect.

[1] Published by Dh. Bajracharya, "Jayasiṃharāmako saṃjhanāmā rākhieko Panautī Indreśvara-mandirko tāmrapatra", in *Pūrṇimā*, 14 (2024 VS), 130–133.

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Ms. *Guhyakālitantra*, National Archives, III.377. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 525 durĀṣāḍha-śukla-pūrṇṇamāsyāṃ tithau Śravaṇa-nakṣatre Priti-yoge ādi[tya]-vāsare śrī-Pilakha-costhāne śrī-Śaktisīgharāmasya vijayarājye.* Written at Palamchok. The Karkaṭa *saṅkrānti* did not fall in Āṣāḍha, and this month was intercalary according to all systems. The date is verified in all its elements for Sunday, July 12th, 1405.

In the same way, the edict by which the emperor of China granted to Śaktisiṃha Rāma the title of king, and of which we have a translation into bad Sanskrit dated June 17th, 1415 [2], calls him simply "Śaktisiṃha Rāma who dwells in the town of Pallakhaco in Nepal".

His last document, and at the same time the last one of the Rāma family, is slightly later:

Inscription on the base of a Gaṇeśa image in the Dachu Tol at Banepa [3]: Dated *śrī-śrī-Paśupati-pādāravinda paraga pijaṃrita muttamāṅ śrī-Śaktiśiṃharājasya vijayarājye | aśvaśaciśera śrārkṣo Nepālikyā vinirggate | pakṣo ma dharjjune ṣaṣṭhyaṃ śubha-yoge ravir chine.* The date (537 Māgha *śukla* 6, *ravi*) is verified for Sunday, January 24th, 1417.

These documents show that Śaktisiṃha gave up any pretence of authority in the valley, since he dropped any title like *amātya* or *mahātha* or the like. On the other side he set up as a petty, but wholly indipendent ruler (*rāja*) in Bhonta, as shown by the term *vijayarājye* and the omission of the name of the king ruling in Nepal.

Apart from the Chinese connection, we know nothing of the reign of Śaktisiṃha. His last mention from the Chinese texts is in 1427, and we have no documentary evidence of any successor of his.

We have travelled thus far with the help of the contemporary documents alone. It is now time to turn to the modern Nepalese chronicles and see what they have to tell us about this problem. As already said, the Malla rulers from Anantamalla to Jayārjunadeva, whose existence is proved beyond doubt by the numerous colophons and inscriptions, are ignored by the late *vaṃśavalīs*. In their place, they insert Harisiṃha of Tirhut and his descendants, who are known as the Sūryavaṃśī dynasty of Bhatgaon:

The kings of this dynasty were:

1. Harisiṃha-deva, who reigned 28 years.
2. His son Matisiṃha-deva reigned 15 years.

1) Published with same mistakes in *CPMDN*, II, 70.

2) See Appendix II.

3) Unpublished. Kindly communicated to me by Mr. Dh. Bajracharya.

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3. His son Śaktisiṃha–deva reigned 22 years (VL: 27; VBh: 33). This Raja abdicated in favour of his son Śyāmasiṃha–deva and took up his residence at Palamchok, whence he sent presents to China, which so pleased the Emperor that he sent in return a seal with the name Śaktisiṃha engraved on it, and in addition the title of Rāma, with a royal despatch, in the Chinese year 535.

4. His son Śyāmasiṃha reigned 15 years.

In this reign a tremendous earthquake was felt in Nepal. The temple of Matsyendranātha and all other buildings fell down, and innumerable human beings perished. This took place on the 12th of Bhādra *śudi*, in Nepal Samvat 528.

This Śyāmasiṃha–deva had no male issue, but only a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to [Jayabhadra Malla, the ancestor in the sixth generation of Jayasthiti Malla]. He then made his son–in–law Raja [1].

This seems to be a patchwork made up of reminiscences of sundry ruling families. Harisiṃha we know already; as far as we can see there was no connection between hin and the Rāma ministers of Bhonta.

As to Matisiṃha, there is no reason at all for connecting him with the quite different name Madana Rāma, as Lévi and many scholars after him have done [2]. On the other side, it is hardly necessary to point out that Matisiṃha is a different person from Madanasiṃhadeva, son of one Śaktisiṃha, ruler of Champaran and author of the *Madanaratnapradīpa*, who lived much later (mentioned in 1454 and 1457) [3].

Śaktisiṃha is the only name of the series who is certainly taken from the Rāma family. The *vaṃśāvalīs* took over also the faithfully preserved tradition of his intercourse with China. The "Chinese year (*cinābda*) 535" is of course no outlandish reckoning, but simply "Newari Samvat 535 of the Chinese [embassy]", i.e. 1415 A.D. [4]. The author of the *vaṃśāvalī* apparently knew the Sanskrit translation of the imperial edict, where exactly the same terms (*Mahācinābda* 535) are employed. As to Śaktisiṃha's abdication, if it is a historical fact at all, it must refer to Bhonta proper and not to the Valley; and his withdrawal to Palamchok has no meaning because that town was always his residence, as shown by the colophon of 1405 and by the Chinese edict.

The last ruler of the list, Śyāmasiṃha, is a mere name to us.

1) Wright, 179–180.
2) S. Levi, *Le Népal*, II, 229.
3) Bendall, *History*, 20.
4) This was shown long ago by S. Lévi, *Le Nepal*, II, 229.

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We may suppose that he was the son of Śaktisiṃha, as stated by the modern chronicles, and that he clung for some years to the remmants of the Rāma domain around Palamchok. As to the date given by VW for the great earthquake which took place during his "reign", it is reproduced in a more complete form in the ms. of the *vaṃśāvalī* in the Cambridge University Library, Add. 1652: *adhi–Bhādra* [*pada*] *śudi* 12 *Uttarā*[*śāḍha*]*–nakṣatra somavāra*; two lines later it is said that the year was 528. The date cannot be verified for 528 (1408 A.D.) and the presence of an intercalary (*adhika*) Bhādrapada shows that this date belongs to a period when the old Nepalese calendar was no longer in use. It also looks suspiciously identical with *adhika*–Bhādrapada *śudi* 12, VS 1890 (= Monday, August 26th. 1833; even the *nakṣatra* is verified!), when a disastrous earthquake ravaged Nepal [1]. It may be that the authors of the *vaṃśavalī* simply projected back in the past the date (but the date only) of an event of their own days. The more so, as they themselves take care to point out that "such a catastrophe had once before occurred in the reign of Śyāmasiṃha".

The purpose of the later chronicles in piecing together this "Siṃha" dynasty with one name from the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Tirhut, one from the Rāmas of Banepa and two of uncertain origin, and in substituting it for the legitimate Malla rulers, seems to have been to create a continuity between Harisiṃha and Jayasthitimalla. The later Mallas claimed to be descended from the Tirhut rulers; and their court chroniclers took up the cue and fabricated a dynasty with whatever scraps of historical tradition, independent of the early Mallas, were available, at the same time quietly dropping the real but rather commonplace story of Jagatsiṃha and Nāyakadevī. This deliberate falsification of history was not very clever. It is above all the chronological absurdity of the construction that betrays it. We are told that Śyāmasiṃha had no male successor and that therefore he gave his daughter to Jayabhadramalla, the ancestor in the sixth generation of Jayasthitimalla; but Jayasthitimalla lived *before* Śyāmasiṃha!

Having cleared the ground from the ghost of the "Siṃhas", let us return to the Rāmas of Banepa. How do they fit in the picture of Nepalese history? They were recognized by the Chinese as

1) Wright, 269–270.

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kings of Nepal; but it is quite evident that this they never were. The complete silence of the early chronicle (V[3]) and above all of the colophons and inscriptions is conclusive evidence to this effect. Not even at Palamchok, where he ruled in his own right (*vijayarājye*), Śaktisiṃha dared to assume the royal title. During the last years of the 14th ventury the Rāma trield to preserve the existence of the principality of Bhonta after the extinction of its royal house, and to play at the same time a role in the chequered events in the Valley, striving without success to check the rise of the house of Bhatgaon. We do not know how the family ended. The only certain fact is that Jayayakṣamalla at the end of his long reign was master of Banepa, where one of his sons set himself up as independent king; the Rāmas had ceased to rule long before that date.

Jayajyotirmalla (1408–1428).

After the eclipse of the dynasty under Jayadharmamalla, the only survivor of the three brothers, Jayajyotirmalla, took up the rule of Nepal and assumed at once that royal style which had remained in abeyance for some years. Thirty–five documents of his reign are extant:

1) Ms. *Sumatisiddhānta*, Kaisher Library, no. 82. First colophon [1]: *Śrīmat–Nepālika–samvatsare 529 Āśviṇī–śukla–tṛtīyān–tithau Svāti–nakṣatre Vaidhṛti–yoge bṛhaspati–vāsare likhitasamāptā bhavantu | R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayajotimalladevasya vijayarājye || yajamāna śrī Yaṃbukramāyāṃ* etc. Written at Kathmandu North. The date is verified in all its elements for Thursday, September 12th, 1409.

2) Inscription near a temple on the main road near Taumadhi Tol, Bhatgaon [2]. Dated *ākāśa–vahni–viśikha–gate* (= 530) *Nepāla–hāyane | Vaiśākha–sitapakṣasya tṛtīyāṃ prajāyatau | pakṣe vāsare sitāṃśau Saubhāgya–yoga–saṃyute | śri–Jayajyotimallena pālite rājyam–uttame .... ataḥ paraṃ Nepāla–bhāṣā | śrīyo 'stu saṃvat 530 Vaiśākha–śukla–tṛtīyāyāṃ Rohiṇī–nakṣatre Sobhāgya–yoge soma–vāsare śrī–Tripura–vidyapīṭhiyā dvāra pādukā sthāpanayā din juroṃ.* The date is verified for Monday, April 7th, 1410.

3) Half–obliterated stone inscription on a small *caitya* in front of the main gate of the Kumbheśvara temple in Patan [3]. The following portions of the date can be read: *Samvat 530 Vaiśakha–śukla .... daśyāṃ ..... nakṣatre Va[jra]–yoge*; it seems

[1] First published 1958. Cf. D. P. Lamsal, "Sumatitantra", in *Ancient Nepal*, 1 (October 1967), 5–10.

[2] Published by Regmi, III, 46–47.

[3] Date first published 1958. Fully edited by Regmi, III, 47.

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to correspond to April 16th, 1410. Written ..... *rāja.... śrī–śrī–Jayajyotimalladevasya vijayarājye śrī–Mānigalottara–vihāra–śrī–Yokha* etc.

4) Ms. *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* and *Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa*, National Archives, IV.20.6. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 531 Mārgaśira–māse śuklapakṣe trayodaśyāyān–tithau Rohiṇī–nakṣatre Śubha ghaṭi 2 Śakra–yoge aṅgāra–vāsare | tva Anurādhāphalapraptam–bhavatu śrī–śrī–R.–P.–Pb.–Jayajyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye | yajamāna śrī–Yam[bu]brumāya śrī–Gaṅgulake śrī–śrī–Ṣaḍakṣarī–mahāvihāre śākyabhikṣu–śrī .... mama likhyate* || Written at Kathmandu North in the Ṣaḍakṣarī–*mahāvihāra*, usually called Duga Bahil. The date is verified in all its details for Tuesday, December 9th, 1410.

5) Ms. *Kātantravyākaraṇasūtrapātha*, National Archives, V.417. Colophon [2]: *Śreyo 'stu samvat 531 Caitra–kṛṣṇa–pratipadyāṃ tithau Svāti–nakṣatre Siddhi–yoge yathākaraṇa muhūrte bṛhaspati–vāsare Meṣarāśi–gate savitari Tulārāśi–gate candramasi R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye amātya Jayabrahmakasya pustako 'yam* etc. The date is verified for Thursday, April 9th, 1411.

6) Ms. *Siddhisāra*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1949. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 532 Mārgaśira–śukla–saptamyāṃ(ti) tithau Śatavṛṣa–nakṣatre Haraṣaṇa–pra–Vajra–yoge āditya–vāsare likhitam–iti śubhaṃ śrī–R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayadyotimalladevasya vjiarājye* || The date is verified in all its particulars for Sunday, November 11th, 1411.

7) Great stone inscription in the compound of Paśupati Nāth [4]. It mentions *śrī–sūryavaṃśa–prabhavaḥ pratāpī śrī–paṭṭavantaḥ Sthitimalladevaḥ Rājalladevyāḥ patir–indumūrtis–tasyātmajaḥ śrī–Jayadharmmamallaḥ.....śrī–Vīra–Nārāyaṇa–mūrtir–eṣaḥ śrī–Dharmamallo yuvarāja–siṃhaḥ | tasyānujo ..... Jayajyotimallaḥ | tasyānujo.... Jayakīrtimallaḥ | .....deva–śrī–Jayajyotimalla–nṛpati Saṃsāradevī–patiḥ*. It commemorates a *lakṣāhuti* made by *śrī–śrī–raghuvaṃśāvataṃśa–M.–P.–Pb.–śrīmat–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotimalladevena*. Mention is made of Jayabhairavamalla, whio had married the king's daughter Jīvarakṣā and of *śrī–Jyotimalla–hṛdaya–nandana Yakṣamallaḥ*, who is *Bhaktāpurī–nagara–vāsina–saukhyakāra*. The date is *Samvat 533 Māgha–śukla–trayodaśī Punarvasu–nakṣatre Prīti–yoge āditya–vāre mithuna–candre*. It is verified in all its particulars for Sunday, January 15th, 1413.

8) Stone inscription in the compound of Paśupati Nāth [5]. Dated *śrī–Jyotirmallaḥ prabhu sarvālaṅkārabhūṣita–Mahāgauri sthāpitā .... Samvat 533 Vaiśākha–śukla–pūrṇimāyāṃ Svāti–nakṣatre Śuddhi–yoge āditya–vāsare*. The date is verified for Sunday, April 16th, 1413, with the exception of the Śuddhi (= Siddhi) *yoga*, which ended on April 15th.

9) Inscription on the base of the Umā–Maheśvara image in the temple compound of Satya–Nārāyaṇa at Handigaon near Kathmandu [6]. Dated *śrī–śrī–R.–Pb.–P.–Daitya–Nārāyaṇa–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotirmalladevasya vijayarathpāṭha .... Nepālika–samvatsare 534*

1) Published by S. Lévi, *Mahākarmavibhaṅga et Karmavibhangopadeśa*, Paris 1932, 167.

2) Published by Regmi, I, 419–420.

3) Published in *CBMC*, 155.

4) Published by Bh. Indraji and G. Bühler, "Inscriptions from Nepal", in *Ind. Ant.* 9 (1880), 183–184; re–edited in *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, 1/10–12, 69–72, and in Regmi, III, 47–50.

5) Published in *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, 1/10–12, 72.

6) Published by Regmi, III, 50–51.

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Māgha–śukla–tṛtīyāyāṃ Purvvabhadra–nakṣatre Siddhi–yoge budha–vāsare. Verified for Wednesday, January 24th, 1414.

10) Ms. *Uḍḍiśasārasaṅgraha*, National Archives, IV.60. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 535 Kārttika–śukla–pratipādyayāṃ tithau Viśākha–nakṣatre Āyuṣmān–yoge ravi–vāsare śrī–P.–Pb.–Daitya–Nārāyaṇa–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotirmaladevānāṃ rājya–vijayarājye likhitaṃ .... śrī–Māniglake–śrī–Dakṣiṇavihāre śri–Yothā–vihāre kuṭumbaja–pradhānāṅga–mūrtyāṅga–pātra–śrī–Jayateja–nāyakasya* etc. Written at Patan in the Yotha *vihāra*, i.e. the Jothā Baha (Jayaśrī–*vihāra*). The date is verified in all its elements for Sunday, October 14th, 1414.

11) Stone inscription on a stele in the garden of Bhandar Khal within the compound of the royal palace in Patan [2]: Dated *Samvat 535 Pauṣa–śukla–pūrṇṇamā[syāyāṃ] Punarvasu–nakṣatre Vaidhṛti–yoge budha–vāsare | R.–Pb.–P.–śrī–śrīmat Jayajyotimaradevasya vijayarājye | śrī–Mānigala–śrī–Vaṃthunihmān pātra–śrī–Yekulivarmmanā | bhāryā śrī–Madanalakṣmi–tanaya–śrī–Jayasiṃha* etc. The date is verified for Wednesday, December 26th, 1414.

12) Inscription in the Muchen courtyard opposite the Bhimsen temple in the Darbar square, Patan [3]. Dated *Śrīmat–śrī–Raghuvaṃśāvatāraḥ samasta–virūdāvalī varikriyā–virājyamānaḥ Daitya–Nārāyaṇaḥ | yo juvarājādhirāja–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotirmalladevānāṃ rā[jña] vijayarājye | Nepālamābda–śararagnibāṇaḥ Māghe ca ekadāśi śukla pakṣe tathā ceva Mṛgaśire 'yaḥ saVedatiyoga samikṣa–vāre || Samvat 535 Māgha–śukla–ekadaśyāṃ Mṛgaśira–nakṣatre | Vaidhṛti–yoge | saumya–vāsare* etc. The date is verified for Monday, January 21st, 1415.

13) *Dhātupāṭha*, National Archives, I.1078.2. Colophon [4]: *Ṛtu–rāma–śare* (= 536) *yāte māse Mārggaśire 'śite susampūrṇṇa–kṛtaṃ likhaṃ saptamyāṃ tithau vare | R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye | vidyaṃ vilāsa–Raghurājakumārakasya cintamaṇi–druma–samarthijanasya tasya | śrī–śrī–śrī–Bhairavama[l]lasya ya rājā yasya* etc. The date corresponds to November 21st, 1415.

14) Fragmentary inscription in the compound of the temple of Paśupati Nāth [5]. Dated *Nṛpateḥ śrī–Jyotimalla–prabhoḥ Nepālabde gate rase ca dahane śrī–Sabhuva katre hi tat māse Mādhava–śuklake tithi–vare śrī–pūrṇṇamāsyaṃ ..... paradeśabhāṣā samvat 536 Vaiśākha–śukla–pūrṇṇamāsyaṃ Svāti–nakṣatre Suddhi–yoge āditya–vāsare* etc. The date is verified for Sunday, April 12th, 1416.

15) Stone inscription to the left of the Buddha statue in the Saptapura *mahāvihāra* (Cikaṃ Bahi), Patan [6]. Dated *Samvat 536 Āśvina–śukla–pūrṇṇamāsyān–tithau Revati ghaṭi 21 Aśvini–nakṣatre Harṣaṇa jo ghaṭi 19 Vajra–yoge aṅgāra–vāsare .....śrī–śrī–Jyotimalladevasa thākurasa vijayarājo bhavatu.* The date is verified in all its elements for Tuesday, October 6th, 1416.

16) Ms. *Ākhyātaratnakośā*, National Archives, III.685. Colophon [7]: *Śrī–Raghuvaṃśāra-*

1) First published 1958.

2) Date published 1958, with a wrong reading of the month. Fully edited in *AS*, 10 (2020 VS), 3, and in Regmi, III, 51–52.

3) Published by Sakya–Vaidya, 70.

4) First published 1958, although the title of this ms. was listed in *CPMDN*, I, 34. Re–edited in Regmi, I, 416.

5) Unpublished. The date was kindly communicated to me by Dh. Bajracharya.

6) Date first published 1958. Fully edited in Regmi, III, 50.

7) First published 1958.

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vinda–jūṇḍaprakāśānekamārttaṇḍasya R.–P.–sya paramamāheśvara–Pb.sya ..... śrī–Jayajyotimalladevasya vijayarājye | Cāturbrahmavihāra–cāranapaduḥ..... || abde śaila–kṛṣānu–bāṇa–sahite (= 537) *māsāśite Māghake caturthi–tithi–saṃjñake bhṛgudine Ardda ca varhisthite yoge Gaṇḍe vare ghaṭe ravi–gate candre ca Kanyasthite etasmin samaye samāpta* etc. The ms. was written for Jayabhairavamalla, the husband of Jayajyotirmalla's daughter Jīvarakṣā. The Cāturbrahma Vihāra is in Bhatgaon. The date is verified in all elements for Friday, February 5th, 1417.

17) Ms. *Sumatisiddhānta*, Kaisher Library, n. 82. Second colophon [1]: *Śrī–śrī–Daitya–Nārāyaṇāvatāra–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotimalladevasya vijayarājye | Samvat 538 Pauṣa–śukla–caturthyāyān–tithau sauradine* || The date is verified for Sunday, December 12th, 1417.

18) Ms. *Divyauṣadhināmamālā*, National Archives, V.7243. Colophon [2]: *Śrīman Cā–vihāre śākyabhikṣu śrī–Madanabhadreṇa svayam pāthārthahetunā likhitam–idaṃ Rāmadattenavaiḥ | śreyo 'stu samvat 538 Magha–kṛṣṇa–aṣṭamyāṃ Viśāṣa–pra–Anurādha–nakṣatre Dhruva–yoge śanaiścara–vāsare saṃpūrṇa–dine R.–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye Nepāla–maṇḍale.* The Cā Bahil (Carumatī *mahāvihāra*) is to the north of Deo Patan; see above p. 132. The date is verified for Saturday, January 29th, 1418.

19) Ms. *Bṛhatkālottaratantra*, National Archives, V.778. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 538 Śrāvaṇa–kṛṣṇa–triyodaśyāyāṃ tithau | Punarvasu–nakṣatre | Sidhi–yoge | āditya–vāsare | śrī–yuvarājādhirāja–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotimalladevasya rājña vijayarājye likhitaṃ pustakaṃ | śrī–Māniglake Dakṣiṇa–vihāre śrī–Yothā–vihārādhivāsinaḥ pradhānāṅga–nāyaka–mūrtya[ṅgapātra] śrī–Jayatejavarmaṇena svahastena ....* On the Yothā Baha see Doc. 10 above. The date is verified for the first hours of Sunday, July 31st, 1418.

20) Ms. *Netrajñānārṇavamahātantra*, Kaisher Library, n. 32. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 539 Māgha–kṛṣṇa–dvitīya–tithau Uttaraphalguṇa–nakṣatre Śūla–yoge āditya–vāsare śri–Lalitapattanapurādhivāsina śrī–Māniglake śrī–Dakṣiṇa–vihāre śrī–Yothā–vihārodbhava–nāyaka–mūrtyaṅga–pradhānāṅga–mahāpātra–śrī–śrī–Jayatejavarmmanena svārtha–parārtha–hetunā svahaste likhitam–idaṃ .... Daitya–Nārāyaṇa–juvarāja–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotimalladevānāṃ rājña vijayarājye likhitam–iti.* Written at Patan, in the same place and for the same person as doc. 19. It is noteworthy that these two colophons, so late in the reign of Jayajyotirmalla, still give him the title of *yuvarāja*. The date is verified in all its details for Sunday, February 2nd, 1419.

21) Ms. *Subantaratnākara*, Cambridge University Library, Or. 148. Colophon [5]: *Nepāla–hāyana samvat 540 Bhādrapada–śukla–pañcamyān–tithau budha–vāśare Svati–nakṣatre Brahma–yoge, R.–P.–Pb.–śrīmatMāneśvarī–varalabdhaprasāda–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotimalladevasya vijayarājye | śrīmad–Gaṅgūlapatanake śrī–Yatradevī–mahāvihāre śrī–śrī–Lokeśvarena sevita bhikṣunā Dharmmāradhikena svapustakam likhitam śubham–astu* || Gaṅgūla seems to be a name of Kathmandu; see above Doc. 4. The date is verified in all its elements for Wednesday, August 14th, 1420.

22) Ms. *Jyotirājakaraṇasya Nepālabhāsā*, National Archives, I.440. Colophon [6]: *Samvat*

1) First published 1958.
2) Published by Regmi, I, 420.
3) Published by Regmi, I, 420.
4) First published 1958.
5) First published 1958. Mentioned by Bendall, *History*, 28.
6) Published by Regmi, I, 420.

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541 Caitra–śukla–pūrṇamāsyāṃ tithau Hasta–nakṣatre Dhruva–yoge .... [vā]sare | śrī–śrī–R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye | daivajña–Jyotirājena likhitam. The date is verified for March 19th, 1421.

23) Ms. *Haramekhalā*, National Archives, I.1076.5. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 541 Bhādrapada–śukla–tṛtīyāyāṃ tithau Hasta–nakṣatre Śubha–joge bṛhaspati–vāsare sampūrṇam–iti | śubham–astu | śrī–śrī–R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Jayajotimalladeva–prabhuṭhākurasya–vijarāje* || The date is completely irregular; the *tithi* points to August 31st, 1421, which day, however, was a Sunday and not a Thursday; the *nakṣatra* ended on August 30th and the *yoga* on August 29th.

24) Ms. *Jyotirājakaraṇa*, National Archives, V.699. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 541 Āśvini–śudi 2 śrī–Jayajyotirmalla–ṭhākurasa.* The *tithi* ended on September 28th, 1421.

25) Inscription on the base of a Sūrya image in the Sun temple near the pond in Kvathanu Tol, Bhatgaon [3]. Dated *rājye tasya ca Jotimalla–nṛpateḥ Saṃsāradevī–pateḥ padyana kapūritavare Bhaktāpurīpaṭṭane ....Nepāla–hāyana–gate dvaya–veda–bhūte* (= 542) *Śukre* (= Jyeṣṭha) *ca śukla–tithike ravi* (= *12*) *sañjñake ca .... Samvat 542 .... budhavāra.* The date is irregular, as the *tithi* ended not on Wednesday, but on Tuesday, June 2nd, 1422.

26) Ms. *Vairāgyaśataka*, Kaisher Library, n. 39. Colophon [4]: *Śrī–śrī–R.–P.–Pb.–Jayajyotimalladevasya Nyāyapāla–maṇḍale śrī–Lalitabrūmāyāḥ śrī–Mānigalottare śrī–Sothaṃmihmaṃ–gṛhavāśi amātya–Harṣarājena likhitam–idaṃ pustakam | śrīman–Nepālika–samvat 543 Mārggaśira–kṛṣṇa–dvitīyāyāṃ tithau* || Written at Patan. The *tithi* ended on November 11th, 1422.

27) Copper–plate on the front wall of the Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa in Kathmandu [5]. Dated (after many titles attesting the king's devotion to Paśupati and Māneśvarī) *M.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotimaladevasya vijayarāje | tataḥ śrī–Mānigalaḥ śrī–śrī–Śīmanikṛṣṇācaraṇāmbuja–sevitaḥ śrī–tṛbhaya–mahāpātra–pramukhādiḥ śrī–Dakṣiṇavihāra–pradhāna[ṅga]–mahāpātra–sahanumatena svapta–kuṭumbaja–mahāpātra śuddhigacchaye nāmaḥ thwote śrī–śrī–rājakula–śrī–Mānigalaḥ | .... Samvat 543 Āṣāḍha–śukla–daśamyāyāṃ tithau Svāti–nakṣatre Siddhi* (*recte*: Siddha) *yoge śukra–vāsare.* Written at Patan, then brought to Kathmandu. The date is verified for Friday, June 18th, 1423.

28) Ms. *Mahālakṣmīvrata–māhātmyavyākhyānasamuccaya*, National Archives, V.371. Colophon [6]: *Svasti śrī–R.–Pb.–śrīman–Nepālabhuvanādhipendra–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye | vahnauvārṇava–śivānana–gate* (= 543) *likhyate māse Bhādrapade site hi śubhade śrī–dvādaśi tad–dine nakṣatre Śravaṇe vidhāna–divase giṣpativāsare dhṛtvāñjyāṃ śirasa nidhāya sahasā śrī–Bhairava–svāmin nāmna Mānikarājena likhyate.* The date is verified for the first hour of Thursday, August 19th, 1423.

29) Ms. *Daśakriyāvidhi*, National Archives, I.1077,11. Colophon [7]: *Samvat 544 dvirĀṣāḍha–kṛṣṇa–dvitīyāyāṃ tithau bṛhaspati–vāsare likhitaṃ.... | śrī–Nepālā–maṇḍale*

1) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 36–37.
2) Published by Regmi, I, 412.
3) Published in *Bhaktapur–śilalekh–śūcī*, 6; also in Regmi, III, 53–54.
4) First published 1958.
5) Published by Regmi, III, 54–55.
6) Published by Regmi, I, 421.
7) First published 1958, although the title and the beginning of the ms. were given in *CPMDN*, I, 32.

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śrī–śrī–rājarājendra–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotimalladevasya vijayarājye || There was no Karkaṭa *saṅkrānti* in Āṣāḍha, which month was therefore intercalary according to all systems. There date is verified for Thursday, July 13th, 1424.

30) Ms. *Ārya–Tārā–sragdharāstotra*, National Archives, V.134. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 544 Āṣāḍha–kṛṣṇa–pañcamyāṃ tithau Svāti–nakṣatre Dhṛti–yoge somavāsare .... Jayajyotirmalladevasya vijayarājye likhitam.* The date is completely irregular. The fact of Āṣāḍha being intercalary is not indicated. The *tithi* ended on June 17th, 1424 for *adhika*–Āṣāḍha and on July 16th for *nija*–Āṣāḍha. The *nakṣatra* ended respectively on June 6th and July 5th. Not a single one of these four days was a Monday.

31) Ms. *Mahāprasthānaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, National Archives, III.365.3. Colophon [2]: *Śrīman–Nepāla–varṣe viśiṣa–yuga–śare* (= 545) *Phālgune māsa–kṛṣṇa pañcamyāñ–cĀnurādhe 'suraguru–sudine Vajra–yogeti mukhye* || ..... || *R.–śrī–śrīmajJayajyotimalladevasya vijayarājye mahāpātra–śrī–Rājasimhadevaḥ mahāpātra–Śrīnāthasiṃhaḥ etayoḥ śirobhṛtaprastāvakṣaṇe likhitaṃ saṃpūrṇṇakṛtaṃ | Nepāla cāntaṃ kṛtarājadhānī–nāmnā prasiddhā Lalitāpuriti* etc. Written at Patan. The date is verified in all elements for the last hours of Thursday, March 8th, 1425.

32) Inscription on the base of an image of Candra in the compound of a small temple in the Bhandar Khal garden, Patan [3]. it begins: *Namo Somāya | śreyo 'stu | Samvat 547 Kārttika–śukla–pūrṇṇamāsyāṃ tithau viṣṭe ghati 8 vaṇikakarṇṇe | śrī–dine | veddhahorāyāṃ Aśvani ghaṭo 23 Bharani–nakṣatre Śuddhi* (= Siddhi) *yoge budha–vāsare | .... śrī–śrī–Jyotimaradevasya vijayarājye śrī–Vathunihma–śrī–Yekalivarmmanaḥ bhāryyā śrī–Madanalakṣmī Bharīs sarvvamatena.* The date is verified for Wednesday, October 16th, 1426.

32) Copper–plate inscription over the main gate of the Ibā–bahi in Patan [4]. Written *śrī–śrī–Māneśvarī–varalabdhaprasādita–Pb.–P.–M.–śrī–śrīmajJayajyotimalladevasya vijayarājye.* It mentions *kuṭumbaja pradhāna mahāpātra* Daiva–Nārāyaṇa Śrī Rājasiṃhamallavarman (who is the same as in doc. 31), *pradhāna mahāpātra* Cakra–Nārāyaṇa Śrī Udayasiṃhamallavarmman, *pradhāna mahāpātra* Acuka–Nārāyaṇa Śrī Dharmasiṃhamallavarmman, who are said to be the chief personages; lesser ones are *pradhāna mahāpātra* Asura Nārāyaṇa Śrī Rudrasiṃhamallavarmman and *pradhāna mahāpātra* Pāla Nārāyaṇa Śrī Jayabhīmamallavarmman. There are three dates. A) *Samvat × × × Phālguṇa–śukla–caturthī–para–pañcamī Aśvinī–nakṣatre Śukra–yoge bṛhaspati–vāsare.* Although the figures for the year have disappeared, the other elements are sufficient for verifying the date for Thursday, February 10th, 1418; the year is therefore NS 538. B) *Samvat × × × Vaiśākha–kṛṣṇa–ekādaśī Uttarabhadra–nakṣatre Viṣkambha–para–Prīti–yoge āditya–vāre.* Here too the figures for the year cannot be read, but the other elements are sufficient for verifying the date for the year 538, i.e. for Sunday, May 1st, 1418. C) *Samvat 547 Jyeṣṭha–śukla–tṛtiyāyām Punarvasu–para–Puṣya–nakṣatre Dhruva yoge bṛhaspati–vāre Kanyā–lagna.* The date is verified in all its elements for Thursday, May 79th, 1427.

1) Published by Regmi, I, 421.
2) Published in *CPMDN*, II, 50.
3) Published in *AS*, 10 (2020 VS), 4; also in Regmi, III, 55–56.
4) Partly published 1958. Fully edited in Regmi, III, 56–57.

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34) Ms. *Nāmasaṅgrahanighaṇṭu*, Leningrad Public Library. Colophon [1]: *R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotimalladevasya vijayarājye | Samvat 547* (1426–27 A.D.).

35) Ms. *Piṭhāvatārastotra*, Kaisher Library, n. 47. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 548 Āṣāḍha–śudi–trayodaśyām tithau Jyeṣṭha–nakṣatre Brahma–yoge Śukra–vāsare saṃpūrṇṇadine likhi..... R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayajyotimalladevasya vijayarājye* || The date is verified in all its elements for Friday, June 25th, 1429.

36) Ms. *Pākavidhinighaṇṭu*, National Archives, V.395. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 548 Bhādrapada–śukla–pratipadyāṃ tithau | Pūrvvaphalguṇi–nakṣatre | Sidhi* (*recte*: Siddha) *yoge | bṛhaspati–vāsare | R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jyotimalladevasya vijayarājye | śrī–Devapaṭṭane śrī–Bāvihāriṇākṛti śrī–Maṇibhadra–sthāvirakasya pustakam–idaṃ.* Written at Deo Patan, The date is verified for the first hour of Thursday, August 12th, 1348.

The modern chronicles have telescoped Jayajyotirmalla, along with his brothers, into the reign of Jayasthitimalla. But this very fact allows us to settle at least the precise date of his death. According to VW, Jayasthiti malla died in 549 Kārttika *kṛṣṇa* 5 [4], and this date, corresponding to Thursday, October 28th, 1428, must be really that of the death of Jayajyotirmalla. Accordingly, this king reigned from 1408 to October 1428.

Once again because of the telescoping we are left without information about events of his reign. What Kirkpatrick, p. 266, has to say about "Jeit Mull" is only a part of the feats usually attributed to his father: distribution of soil to the farmers, tax reductions, determination of weights and measures, embellishment of his capital Bhatgaon.

Whatever we can glean from the available sources is this. Jayajyotirmalla did away with the influence of the Rāmas, who disappear from Nepalese history. From the distribution of his colophons (a rather unsafe criterium) we are led to infer that after the first years he shifted the capital back to Patan; Bhatgaon became for the moment a provincial town, but its peculiar status as the cradle of the royal family was underscored by the heir–apparent being made its governor (*saukhyakāra*). The inscriptions show that the king made substantial offerings to Paśupati on the one side and to Svayambhū

1) Published (partly?) by S. D'Oldenburg, "Short notice on three dated Nepalese mss.", in *JRAS* 1891, 688, n. 3.

2) First published 1958.

3) Published in Regmi, I, 422.

4) Wright, p. 183. The forty–three regnal years attributed (*ibid.*, p. 182) to Jayasthitimalla (*cum* his sons) are evidently reckoned from the death of Rājalladevī in 506 to the death of Jayajyotirmalla in 549.

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Nāth on the other. Like all the Mallas, he was a Śaiva; but he offered cult also to Viṣṇu, as shown by his name of Daitya–Nārāyaṇa, and protected the other great religion of the country as well, in the best of old Indian and Nepalese tradition. Another pleasant feature of this king is his love of learning, for which he is praised in the Paśupati Nath inscription (doc. 7), and which is witnessed by his authorship of an astrological work, the *Siddhisāra* (doc. 6).

Jayayakṣamalla (1428–1482).

Jayajyotirmalla was succeeded by his eldest son Jayayakṣamalla, with whom the Malla kingdom reached its zenith. He enjoyed an unusually long reign, and thus a great quantity of material has been preserved: no less than fifty documents [1]:

1) Ms. *Śuklayajurvedasaṃhitā*, National Archives, I.787.4. Colophon [2]: *Śāka–samvat 1350 Mārgaśira–māse śukla–pakṣe na[va]mī Pūrvvabhadra–nakṣatre Vajra–yoge candravāre | śrī–Bhaktagrāmapaṭṭane R.–P.–Pb.–Raghuvaṃśāvatāra–śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamalasya vijayarājye likhitaṃ* || Written at Bhatgaon. The date is verified in all its elements for Monday, November 15th, 1428.
2) Copper–plate on the wall to the left of the door of the main shrine of the Viśvakarman–*mahāvihāra* (Om Baha), Kathmandu [3]. Dated *Samvat 549 Caitra–śukla–daśamyāṃ tithau aṅgāra–vāsare Puṣya–nakṣatre Śukarama–yoge R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye*. The date is verified for Tuesday, March 15th, 1429.
3) Ms. *Śuklayajurvedasamhitā*, National Archives, I.736.7. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 549 Jyeṣṭha–māse śukla–pakṣe pañcamyāyāṃ tithau Punarvvasu–nakṣatre Vṛddhi–joge āditavāre tadine siddhi bhavatu | śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamalladevasya vijayarāje śrī–Bhagatāpurīnagare śrī–Canigalasthāne* etc. Written at Bhatgaon. The date verified in all its elements for Monday, May 8th, 1429.
4) Ms. *Vajrāvalī*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1703. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 549 Bhādrapada–śukla–pañcamyāṃ tithau Viśāṣa–nakṣatre śaṇicara–vāśare R.–P.sya śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamaladevasya vijayarājye likhitaṃ śrī–Māṇigalake Utravihāre śrī–Harṇṇavarṇa–mahāvihārāvasthita–bhikṣu–śrī–Jīvayibhadrena svahastena likhitam–iti* || Written at Patan in the famous Golden Monastery (Hiraṇyavarṇa–vihāra). There was no Kanyā *saṅkrānti* in Bhādrapada, therefore Āṣāḍha was intercalary. This Bhādra-

1) The numerous documents of Jayayakṣamalla, of wich a first list was given in 1958, were then collected by Regmi, I, 426–436, and by Shankarman Rajbamshi, "Yakṣamallakā samayakā niścit saṃvat ra tithimitiharu", in *Pūrṇimā*, 7 (2022 VS), 36–43; 8 (id.), 14–20; 9 (2023 VS), 10–17; 10 (id.), 17–22. To simplify quotations, these two lists will be cited by the name of the author followed by the number of the document.

2) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 23. Regmi, unnumbered; Rajbamshi, n. 4.

3) Regmi, n. 25 (fully published in Regmi, III, 58); Rajbamshi, *deest*.

4) First published 1958. Regmi, n. 4; Rajbamshi, n. 5.

5) Published in *CBMC*, 197. Regmi, n. 5; Rajbamshi, n. 6.

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pada corresponds to *nija*–Bhādrapada of the Sūrya Siddhānta, and the date is verified for Saturday, September 3rd, 1429.

5) Ms. *Jyotiṣaratnamālā*, National Archives, IV.34. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 550 Pauṣya–kṛṣṇa ..... tithau Hasta–nakṣatre Dhṛti–yoge āditya–vāsare | R.–P.–[Pb.–śrī–śrī–] Jayajakṣamalladevasya vijayarāje... śrī–Bhagatagrāme Vijaharikocchetola* etc. Written at Bhatgaon. The date is verified for Sunday, January 15th, 1430.

6) Copy of a Pharping inscription in the National Archives [2]. Dated *Pb.–P.–M.–śrī–śrīmajJayakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye .... kṛtadināṣṭakaṃ Jaitralakṣmīvadhū dva ca Śaktisiṃho nṛpaṣ–tayo Jyotisiṃhaḥ kumāraś–ca saṃpūrṇṇaṃ kṛtayajñakaḥ | netra–śara–bhūta–yute* (= 552) *gate 'bde Rādho* (= Vaiśākha) *'śita–ṣaṣṭha–tithau Śiva* (= Ardrā) *ṛkṣe sūrya–dine Sukrama–yogamukhye.* The date is verified for Sunday, April 6th, 1432. Śaktisiṃha is of course the local feudatory (*rāvut*) of Pharping and has nothing to do with the almost contemporary Śaktisiṃha Rāma of Palamchok.

7) Ms. *Ekadaśīmāhātmya*, National Archives, I.1003.3. Colophon [3]: *Nepālavatsare hare–kṣaṇa–bāṇa–bhūte* (= 553) *Vaiśākha–pakṣaśita–viśva* (= 11) *tithau ca Haste | yoge Śanau* (= Vajra) *divasi devagurau vṛṣarkke tasmin mṛgāṅkamahākanyagate babhūva | .... so 'yam śrī–Jayayakṣamallanṛpatir–Nepālarājyeśvaras–tasyāsmin vijayapracāra–samaye Bhaktapurī–rājyake.* Written at Bhatgaon. The date is verified for the early hours of Thursday, April 30th, 1433.

8) Ms. *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 2834.2. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 554 Māgha–kṛṣṇa–ckādaśyān–tithau Mūla–nakṣatre Śudhi–yoge guru–vāsare | R.–śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamaladevasya vijayarāje liṣitam–idaṃ* | As Śudhi is a variant for Siddhi *yoga*, the date is verified in all its elements for Thursday, February 4th, 1434.

9) Additional note on the back of the last leaf of ms. *Kuṭṭanīmata*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 4731 [5]: *Samvat 556 thwote rumvā thwosa Māgha–vrata cararapo śrī–śrī–Yakṣamalladeva śrī–śrī–Jīvamalladeva ubhaya–thākuras cyāsarapiyaju duṅ thwote wohuca thwote chahmaṃ guthali vivāha rakaṃ Abhayasiṃha Bhāro śrī–Jyotimaladeva sakhota Jayantalakṣmī jhinta.* The date corresponds to January–February 1436.

10) Inscription in the Mahādeva temple at Thimi [6]. Dated .... *R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Nepāla–maṇḍaleśvara..... śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladeva sa–Rūpadevī–Udayanadevī–hṛdayasaro–vara–rājahaṃsaḥ | Jyotimalla–suto bhāti sa śrīman bhūpati kṛtiḥ | sūryavaṃśāvatamso 'yaṃ Yakṣamallo guṇāśrayaḥ Saṃśāradevyās–tanayaḥ subuddhir–Vivekanārāyaṇa eṣa bhāti | śrī–Yakṣamallānujaḥ śāstravedī śrī–Jīvamallo nṛpa–ratnamūrtiḥ | dvayor–vija–yarājye || ... samvat 5[58?] Phālguṇa–śukla–pūrṇimāsi bhaumavāra devala–pratiṣṭhā din.* If the year has been correctly restored, the date is verified for Tuesday, March 11th, 1438.

11) Long, but badly preserved stone inscription on the water–conduit of Talmadhi Tol,

1) First published 1958; Regmi, n. 6; Rajbamshi, n. 7.

2) Regmi, *deest*; Rajbamshi, n. 8.

3) Partly published in *CPMDN*, I, 30; more fully, but with a wrong date, in 1958. Regmi, n. 8; Rajbamshi, n. 9.

4) Mentioned by C. Bendall in *JRAS* 1888, 551. First published 1968; Regmi, n. 7; Rajbamshi, n. 7.

5) Published in *CSMASB*, VII, 76, n. 5086; Regmi, n. 26; Rajbamshi, n. 10.

6) Regmi, n. 29*a* (with a wrong date?); Rajbamshi, n. 12.

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Bhatgaon [1]. It mentions several times Jayayakṣamalla and his younger brother Jayajīvamalla. The date at the end is first expressed in Sanskrit: *śūnye skandamukhendrisaṅkhyākāśate Nepālasamvatsare Jeṣṭhe pāṇḍarapakṣakāntaka tithau nakṣatre .... yoge Śuddhimate divā vidhusute bhāsvadvaṣe saṃsthite Kanye candramasīti tatra kṛtavān pūrṇṇā pratiṣṭhāvidhiḥ*; then in Newari: *śrī–śrī–Yakṣamalla prabhu ṭhākurasan pādasthāpanaya din gajuhri chāse pul dayakā luyitināṃ dayakā .... samvat 560 Jyeṣṭha sudhi 10 budhavāra*. The date is verified for Wednesday, May 11th, 1440.

12) Ms. *Nepālabhāṣācikitsā*, National Archives, V.437. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 561 Mārgaśira–śukla–daśamyāṃ Aśvini–nakṣatre Parighya–yoge āditya–vāsare | R.–P.–Pb.–Lakṣmī–Nārāyaṅa–śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye*. The date is verified for Sunday, December 4th, 1440, except for the *yoga*, which ended on December 8th.

13) Ms. *Caturaṅkanāṭakagītaṃ*, National Archives, V.783. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 561 Jyeṣṭha–śudi 12 śrī–Jayayakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye jelamdholabandhovatrarana niyuktaka likhitaṃ Ṛkṣarājena*. The date corresponds to June 1st, 1441.

14) Ms. *Cāndravyākaraṇasūtrapātha*, National Archives, V.731. Colophon [4]: *Nepālābdagate mṛgāṅka–rasāyanecchāya pañcabāṇāyudha māse kṛṣṇa śucau divākara–tithau ṛṣye vapuṣṇābidhe..... śrī–śrī–Paśupati–caraṇāravindārcana–parāyaṇa–ripurāja–daitya–tripurāsura–māna–vinirjita śrī–śrī–saṃsāratāriṇī–Gauriśvara–śrī–Maheśvarāvatāra śrī–Lakṣmī–Nārāyaṇa–śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladevānuja–śrī–śrī–Jīvamalladeva–saheva vijayarājye*. The details of the date are difficult. According to Regmi, it corresponds to Sunday, July 9th, 1441.

15) Ms. *Kubjikāpūjā–Kumāripūjāparyanta*, National Archives, III.96.5. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 564 Yeṣṭha–śukla–pūrṇṇamāsyāyāṃ Jeṣṭha–nakṣatre Śubha–yoge āditya–vāsare saṃpūrṇṇakṛtam–iti | R.–śrī–śrī–P.–Pb.–Jayajakṣamalladevasya vijayarāje | Kāsṭhamaṇḍapādhivāsinā Śrī–Nāgavarṇṇa–mahāvihārodbhava amātya–pātra–śrī–Rājasiṃhapāla–Bhallokasya*. Written at Kathmandu. The date is verified in all its details for Sunday, May 31st, 1444.

16) Ms. *Subantaratnākara* (single final leaf only), India Office Library, Hodgson 35/2 (vol. 29). "Copied by Abhayarāja in the month Phālguna of Samvat 565 (*pañcarasa–bāṇa*), during the reign of Jayayakṣamalladeva" [6]. The date corresponds to February–March 1445.

17) Copper–plate inscription in the collection of Paśupati Nāth [7]. Dated *Nāde skandamukhe hyanaṅgaviśikhe* (= 567?) *Nepālasamvatsare māsādau* (= Kārttika?) *'śita–saptamī Varuṇābhe* (= Śatabhiṣaj–*nakṣatra*) *yoge Śanau* (= Śiva?) *gīṣpatau* (= bṛhaspati). It gives an account of offerings and grants of land in the memory of the queen–mother Saṃsāradevī, deceased on that day, by *śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamalladeva prabhu ṭhākurasan śrī–śrī–Jayajīvamalladeva prabhu mu ṭhākurasan ubhayasyaṃ duntā juro*. The date is difficult to understand. I take *nāda* = *svara* = 7; so also Regmi, I,

1) First published 1958, with a wrong date; Regmi, n. 9 (fully edited in Regmi, III, 63–67); Rajbamshi, n. 13.

2) Regmi, n. 28; Rajbamshi, *deest*.

3) Regmi, n. 30; Rajbamshi, *deest*.

4) Partly published by S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, 398; Regmi, n. 29 (and I, 440); Rajbamshi, n. 14.

5) First published 1958; Regmi, n. 10; Rajbamshi, n. 15.

6) Thus listed in *CPSMIO*, 1443, n. 7877; Regmi, n. 11; Rajbamshi, n. 16.

7) Regmi, n. 27 (fully edited in III, 58–61); Rajbamshi, *deest*.

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432, 439, 440. But Dh. Bajracharya, and also Regmi, III, 58, understand *nāda* = 1. As to the month, *māsādi* ("the first month") should be Kārttika, and thus it has been understood by Regmi; Dh. Bajracharya take it to mean Vaiśākha. Accepting the equivalences given above, the date would be quite irregular, as the *tithi* ended on October 26th, 1446, which day was a Wednesday and not a Thursday; the *nakṣatra* ended on the 28th and the *yoga* on November 9th. Verification for 561 Kārttika or 561 Vaiśākha is also impossible.

18) Inscription commemorating the erection of an image of Sarasvatī near the temple of Bālakumārī in the Kvāchem Tol, Patan [1]. Dated .... *śrī–Yakṣamallo bhūpo 'sti Nepāle tena pālite .... tribhiḥ pradhanaiḥ pātraiś–ca pālito Lalitāpuraḥ śrīmān Maṇikumāro 'tra bhāti saptakuṭumbakaiḥ Samvad bhūdhara–śaṇmaheśavadane* (= 567) *'tite ca Nepālike | Jyeṣṭhe śukla–hutāśanākhya–tithike* (= *pratipad*) *vāre himāṃśoḥ śubhe | ṛkṣe sanmṛgaśirṣake* (= Rohinī) *vara–Dhṛtau yoge Vṛṣasthe ravau....* And further below: *śrī–Nepālika Samvat 567 Jyeṣṭha–śukla–pratipadyāṃ tithau || Rohiṇī ghaṭi 23 para Mṛgaśira–nakṣatre | Dhṛti–yoge | soma–vāsare | Vṛṣarāśi–gate savitari | tadeva rāśi–gate candramasi* | The date is verified for Monday, May 15th, 1447.

19) Stone inscription to the left of the Vajrasattva image in the quadrangle of Mu Baha in Patan [2]. Dated *Śrīmat–Nepālika samvat 567 Jyeṣṭha–śukla–tṛtīya–pra–caturthyāyāṃ tithau Punarvvasu–nakṣatre Vṛddhi–yoge bṛhaspati–vāsare .... R.–śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye.* The date is verified for Thursday, May 18th, 1447.

20) Ms. *Kātantravyākaraṇa*, Kaisher Library, n. 589. Colophon [3]: *Samvat 567 Śrāvaṇa–kṛṣṇa–daśamyāyāṃ tithau āditya–vāsare sampūrṇṇa–kṛtam–idaṃ pustakaṃ | R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamalladeva–vijayarājye.* The date is verified for Sunday, August 10th, 1447.

21) Additional note at the end of ms. *Sumatisiddhānta–grahagaṇita*, Kaisher Library, n. 82 [4]. Dated *Samvat 567 Bhādrapada śudi 3 śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladeva–ṭhākurasya Śivaluti* (= Gosainthan) *bijyāyayā prastāvana yāṅā divasa Bhādrapada–śukla–dvādasī Śravaṇa–nakṣatra budhavāra.* The note gives details on Jayayakṣamalla's pilgrimage to Gosainthan. The second date is verified for the first hours of Wednesday, August 23rd, 1447.

22) Ms. *Ekādaśīmāhātmya*, National Archives, I.1559. Colophon [5]: *Eke haskaravāhanendriyavidhe* (= 571) *Nepālasamvatsare | māse Kārttika–śukla–viśvatithige* (?) *'bhe Pūrvvabhadrāhvaye | vare bhāskari–saṅgame gatavati .... | so 'yam śrī–Jayayakṣamalla–nṛpatir Nepālabhūmaṇḍale | rājye tasya mahodaye janapade Bhaktapurīpaṭṭane.* The *tithi* seems to be 15; but otherwise the date is verified for Saturday, October 17th, 1450.

23) Inscription in the Nārāyaṇa temple in the Kolāche Tol at Lubhu, to the West of Patan [6]. Gives details of the construction of the temple, in the time when *śrī–śrī–Yakṣamalla iti rājati bhūpatiḥ śrīḥ | tasyātmajaḥ śrī–Jayarāyamallo madhyānujaḥ | śrī–Jayaratnamallaḥ | surājate śrī–Raṇamalladevaḥ kaniṣṭhaputraḥ kahariśa–rūpaḥ ....*

1) Regmi, n. 31 (fully edited in III, 67–68); Rajbamshi, n. 17.
2) First published 1958, with a wrong reading of the date; Regmi, n. 2 (and III, 68–69); Rajbamshi, n. 18.
3) First published 1958; Regmi, n. 12; Rajbamshi, n. 19.
4) Regmi, n. 32; Rajbamshi, n. 44.
5) Regmi, *deest*; Rajbamshi, n. 20.
6) Regmi, n. 33 (fully edited in III, 69–71); Rajbamshi, n. 21.

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śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye. It gives five dates for the various stages of the work: 565, 565, 567, 570, and the last is *Samvat 572 Caitra–śukla–ekādaśyāṃ tithau Magha–nakṣatre Vṛddhi–yoge śukra–vāsare*, verified for Friday, March 31st, 1452.

24) Inscription on the sockle of an image of Gaṇeśa at Sanga [1]. Dated *śrī–Nepālamaṇḍala–prabhuḥ śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamalladeva vijayarājye .... Samvat 573 Māgha–śukla–ṣaṣṭhamyāyāṃ tithau Revati–nakṣatre Śiddhi* (recte: Siddha) *yoge aṅgāra–vāsare*. The date is verified for Tuesday, January 16th, 1453, except for the *yoga* which ended on the 15th.

25) Ms. *Abdaprabodha–Bhojadevasaṅgraha*, National Archives, V.702. Colophon [2]: *R.–P.–Pb.–Bhāskarakulaḥ śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye śreyo 'stu | śrī–Nepālasamvatsare 573 Jyeṣṭha–kṛṣṇa–caturthyāṃ śanaiścara–vāre Uttarāṣāḍha–parataḥ Śravaṇa–nakṣatre Aindra–yoge*. The date is verified for Saturday, May 26th, 1453.

26) Copper–plate in the collection of Paśupati Nāth [3]. ....*śrī–Tripurarājakula–śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladeva prabhu ṭhākura dwoṃ pramukhan śrī–Mānigala Yetha Bahār Udaya Bhāro dwoṃ pramukhan gubārayā wuṃ thawo thawo kuḍās kuḍā wuṃ śrī–Śikha–[ra]paṭṭana Phanapiṃ Śaktisiṃha Rāvutta dwoṃ pramukhanaṃ cawo bhayas sakutrā wuṃ śwote wuṃ man melarayaṃ thawo thawos sākhon ākho ākha yuṭān yuṭā nistarape ātma śrī dibā thirārapā bhāṣā śwote juro | bhāṣā Campārān Lohāvar ścane guḍi ādin Koki paracakra saṅkhas hiraworawo ya dvākā kāle o khaṃ ma ṅesem ma hanalaṃ birasanoṃ li khaṃs jārasëṃ ma jasëṃ coṅāya sthāwo jurasano Koke khaṃs tham thaṃ dhaṃko mudrān ganān dhāyo anān tham tham yarjute wuṃ woṃṅanaṃ mudrān ganān dhāyo anān tham tham yarjata wuṃ woṃṅanaṃ ḥṅapha khane pastanano ḥṅaka khane khas li sālan helikayaṅan ma wone pastanano ḥṅaphe ṭhāyas durgā wonate ṭhāya su durgā wonatasëṃ tham cone ṭhāya ma stu tham cogayasta tham cone ṭhāpastha tham coṅan arthasāmarthan colayam bālayaṃ ḍedā juwo sosëṃ pane pastanano jadi kadācit piṃpaṃtayāṅ dikwo ṭwoṃ ṭvākāle duwonān dikwosëṃ duṃwoṅayane mālwo thwote aṭhi bhāṣā samanist cayo ṭvākāle śrī–śrī–śrī–Paśupati ṭwoṃ phodarapā mahāpātaka lākwo juro nisāp juya māl thwote taṃwo śāsanas cosëṃ tako aṭhi bhāṣā nistarapakās jan dhan Lakṣmī santati santān putrapautra –vṛddhi āyurārogya thwote wuṃ juṃya māl jadi kadācit Koke khaṃ ḍaṅanalaṃ tasëṃ hawo ṭwākāle Koka khaṃ dekwo dukhaṃ juseṃ Koke khaṃ ḍanaṅanase hawo sake chuse biseṃ nodraya drabya juko thāya ṭewo juro thwote taṃwo śāsanas cose thirārapāko bhāṣāyā dṛṣṭasākṣī śrī–śrī–śrī–Caṇḍapitāmahaṭwoṃ | śreyo 'stu Samvat 573 Jyeṣṭha–kṛṣṇa–daśamyāṃ tithau Revatī–nakṣatre Śobhana–yoge śukra–vāsare*. The date is verified for Friday, June 1st, 1453. A very important document.

27) Ms. *Nityāhnikatilaka*, National Archives, III.384. Colophon [4]: *ŚrīmatBrahmapuryyādhipati–dvijakulottama–śrī–dvija–Bradhnasomaśarmmano 'yam śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye Dhāḍoṃsikogṛhe vāsita–daivajñā–Abhayasiṃhena likhitam–iti || ŚrīmanNepālika śreyo 'stu samvat 573 Āṣāḍha–kṛṣṇa–caturddaśyāṃ bṛhaspati–vāsare likhitam–idaṃ* etc. Written at Bhatgaon, of which Brahmapurī is a ward. The date is verified for Thursday, July 5th, 1453.

1) Regmi, n. 34 (fully edited in III, 71–72); Rajbamshi, n. 22.
2) Regmi, *deest*; Rajbamshi, n. 23.
3) Regmi, n. 35 (fully edited in III, 72–73); Rajbamshi, *deest*.
4) Published in *CPMDN*, II, 82; Regmi, n. 13; Rajbamshi, n. 24.

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28) Copper-plate inscription at the Golden Gate of the royal palace in Bhatgaon [1]. It concerns the construction of the walls in and around the palace; dated *Samvat 573 Śrāvaṇa-śukla-pūrṇṇamāsyāṃ Śravaṇa-nakṣatre Āyuṣmān-yoge śukra-vāsare śrī-śrī-Jayayakṣamalladeva prabhu ṭhākurasa* etc. The date is verified for Friday, July 29th, 1453.

29) Inscription on the base of an image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa on the upper platform of the courtyard of the fountain in Saugal Tol, Patan [2]. Dated *śrī-śrī-Jayayakṣamalladevasya vi[jayarājye] .... Samvat 574 dvi-Pauṣa śu[kla] .....* The month corresponds to Māgha in the Sūrya Siddhantā, i.e. to the first fortnight of January, 1454.

30) Ms. *Hiraṇyasaptaka*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1691. The colophon itself is dated 311 NS, but a second subscription in Newari [3], probably referring to a recitation, has: *Samvat 574 Phālguni sudhi 12 .... Jakṣamalladeva-rāje... sako din wola wori vāgra bhitanaḥ praparighaḥ || dhagataya ghāḥ thwo swohma rājā mūtan Dwolakhāju diko twom śrī-Kīrttisiṃha twom || gham pūrṇi byāj janābhiti thuni muini || śrī-Jakṣamalladeva rājā two upare wowo || thuti wowo talbhini chosa sa śrīman śrī-Jakṣamalladevasya phu u haṅwo.* The date corresponds to February 10th, 1454.

31) Ms. *Jyotiṣaratnamālā*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1665. Colophon [4]: *Samvat 577 Śrāvaṇa-śukla-ṣaṣṭi-pra-saptamyāṃ | Svati-nakṣatre | Śukla-yoge | guru-vasare | śrī-śrī-Jayajakṣamalladevasya vi[ja]yarājye śrī-Lalitapure Mānīgvalake śrī-Yitihlaṅe vahāre | Jivadraṣamya pustakaṃ svahastena likhitam-iti |* Written at Patan. The date is verified for Thursday, July 28th, 1457, except that the 6th *tithi* had already ended on July 27th.

32) Inscription on the socle of an image of Gaṇeśa in Taplāche Tol, Tokha [5]. Dated *śrīmat-mahī-mahā-M.-P.-Pb..... śrī-śrī-Jayayakṣamalladevarājāyā vijayarā[jye] ..... Samvat 579 Māgha-śukla-aṣṭamyāyān-tithau Bharaṇi-nakṣatre Śubha-pra-Śukla-yoge śukra-vāsare.* The date is verified for Friday, January 12th, 1459.

33) Inscription on an image of Viṣṇu in front of the Dattātreya temple in Bhatgaon [6]: Dated *R.-Jakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye | śreyo 'stu | Samvat 582 dvi-Pauṣa-māsa-pūrṇṇimāsyāṃ tithau | Priti-yoge śukra-vāsare.* In that year there was no Karkaṭa *saṅkrānti* in Āṣāḍha, and this could not give an intercalary Pauṣa in any system. Some mistake has crept in. If the year has been read correctly and if this *dvi*-Pauṣa corresponds to Māgha, then the date is verified for Friday, January 15th, 1462.

34) Inscription on the socle of an image of Candra in the Te Baha, Kathmandu [7]. Dated *Samvat 583 Kārttika-śukla-pūrṇṇimasyāṃ tithau | R.-P.-Pb.-ravikula..... śrī-śrī-Jayayakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye* . The date corresponds to November 6th, 1462.

1) Published in *Itihās Prakāś*, I, Kathmandu 2012 VS, 59–60; in *Pūrṇimā*, 2 (2021 V.S.), 23–25. Regmi, n. 14 (fully edited III, 73–76); Rajbamshi, n. 25.

2) Regmi, n. 36 (fully edited III, 76); Rajbamshi, n. 26.

3) Mentioned in *CBMC*, 177; Regmi, n. 15; Rajbamshi, n. 27.

4) Barely mentioned in *CMBC*, xiii; first published 1958. Regmi, n. 16; Rajbamshi, n. 28.

5) Regmi, *deest*; Rajbamshi, n. 29.

6) Regmi, n. 39 (fully edited in III, 78); Rajbamshi, n. 31.

7) Regmi, n. 40 (fully edited III, 78); Rajbamshi, *deest*.

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35) Inscription on the socle of another image of Candra in the Te Baha, Kathmandu [1]. Dated *Samvat 583 Kārttika–sukla–pūrṇimasyāṃ tithau | R.–P.–Pb.–ravikula ..... śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye*. The date corresponds to November 7th, 1462.

36) Inscription outside the temple of the Nairṛtya–paṭṭi at Paśupati Nath [2]. Dated *Samvat–śukla–tithau daśamyāṃ.....śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladeva–vijayarājye*. The date corresponds to January 29th, 1463.

37) Ms. *Ṛgviniścayamādhavanidāna*, National Archives, V.402. Colophon [3]: *Deva–śrī–kamala–sarojanāyana–śrī–Yakṣamallo nṛpaḥ putrenaiva sahānujena sahita śrī–Rāyamallenaivaiḥ khyātaḥ ..... tat–vijayarājye | Bhaktapure | Samvat yuge vasau bāṇe* (= 584) *pañcamyāṃ ca Madhau* (= Caitra) *śite*. Written at Bhatgaon. The date corresponds to March 13th, 1464.

38) Copper–plate attached to the front wall of the Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa in Kathmandu [4]. Dated .... *śrī–Yakṣamallaḥ prabhu rājate 'sau | śrī–Gauḍadeśāgatadātṛ yogī Caitanyanātho varadānaśauṇḍaḥ | .... | śrī–Nepālavarṣe haravadana–vasu–kāmabāṇerddha kṛṣṇa Āṣāḍhe cendudarśe ahipati varabhe bhaumavāre prayukte* ... And again at the end: *Samvat 585 Āṣāḍha–kṛṣṇa–amāvāśyā kohnu juro*. The date is verified for Tuesday, July 23rd, 1465.

39) Ms. *Kuṣaṇḍikarmavidhi*, National Archives, I.1606.6. Colophon [5]: *Samvat 587 Jeṣṭha–śudi 15 śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamalladevasya vijayarāje*. The date corresponds to May 14th, 1467.

40) Stone inscription on a stele to the left of the temple of Dhvāna in the Tulacchi Tol at Bhatgaon [6]. It begins: *Namo Nārāyaṇāya | svasti śrīmat–śrī–R.–P.–Pb.–ena śrīmatā śrī–Nepāleśvara–cakra–cūḍāmaṇinā śrī–Lakṣmī–Nārāyaṇāvatāra–śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladeva divaṃgata–putra–Jayarājamalladeva–kumārāya tasmai uddeśanārthaṃ* etc. The whole inscription is dedicated to increasing the merits of Jayarājamalla, the pre–deceased son of the king. The date at the end is *Samvat 588 Kārttika–kṛṣṇa–dvitīyāyāṃ tithau Mṛgaśira–nakṣatre Sādhya–yoge śukra–vāsare*. It is verified in all its elements for Friday, November 13th, 1467.

41) Ms. *Dhanuḥśāstra*, National Archives, I.1491. Colophon [7]: *Samvat 588 Pauṣa–kṛṣṇa–pañcamyāṃ tithau | Utraphalguṇa–pra–Hasta–nakṣatre | Sukrama–yoge | bṛhaspati–vāsare | saṃpūrṇṇa–likhitaṃ | R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye | śrī–Śiṣarāpuripaṭṭane śrī–Śurakīvaṃsobdhava–śrī–Jayaśiha–Rāvutasya | śrī–Jayajyotiśiha Rāvutasya* (and four other *rāvuta*) .... | *tasyo vijayarājena | likhitaṃ .... śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamalladeva ṭhākurasawo Phanapiṃga śrī–cawobhaya–Rāvutasawo saṅgrāma jurañāsaṃ coyā*. The date is verified for Thursday, January, 14th, 1468.

42) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, National Archives, I.1113.5. Colophon [8]: *R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye | śubham–astu | Samvat 590 Śrāvaṇa–śukla–pratipadyā–*

1) Regmi, n. 41 (fully edited III, 78–79); Rajbamshi, n. 32.
2) Regmi, *deest*; Rajbamshi, n. 33.
3) Regmi, n. 42; Rajbamshi, *deest*.
4) Published in *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, 1/6, 7–8; Regmi, n. 43 (fully edited III, 79–80); Rajbamshi, *deest*.
5) First published 1958; Regmi, n. 17; Rajbamshi, n. 34.
6) First published 1958; Regmi, n. 18 (fully edited III, 80–82); Rajbamshi, n. 35.
7) Regmi, *deest*; Rajbamshi, n. 36.
8) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 36; Regmi, n. 19; Rajbamshi, n. 37.

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yān–tithau Magha–nakṣatre Parigha–yoge Karkkaṭa–rāśiṃ gate savitari Siṃha–rāśiṃ gate candramasi || The date is verified in all its elements for the second half of July 28th, 1470.

43) Stone inscription on a statue of Bhairava on a house to the South of Paśupati Nath [1]. It is written in the reign of *śrī–sūryavaṃśa–nṛpati–Jayayakṣamalla* and mentions all of his living sons: *śrī–Jayarāyamalla–nṛpatiḥ śrī–Ratnamallaḥ prabhuḥ śrīmat śrī–Raṇamalla–devaguṇavān śrī–Rāmamallo nṛpaḥ khyāta–śrī–Arimalla–devasukṛti śrī–Pūrṇamallo varaḥ*. There are two dates: A) *Nāge vasau nandanavāra–gate* (= 588) *ca varṣe Caitre tama–hare* (= 7?) *tithau Śravaṇe ca ṛkṣe yoge Śubhe bhṛgudine*; this is verified for Friday, April 15th, 1468. B) *Nepālahāyane gate vidhu–raṃdhra–bāṇe* (= 591) *Māghe śite tithivare navamī–praśaśte ṛkṣe Vidheḥ śaśi–suteni Aindra–yoge*; this is verified for Wednesday, January 30th, 1471.

44) Ms. *Sragdharāstotra*, India Office Library, 2723 H. Colophon [2]: *Śrī–Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa–mahānāgare Cyekanamaguṅgitolake Baṃ–vihārādhivāsī* | .... || *Samvat 594 Caitra–kṛṣṇa–dvādaśī Uttrabhadra–nakṣatre buddhadine* | *R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–Jayajakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye* etc. Written at Kathmandu. The date is verified for Wednesday, April 13th, 1474.

45) Ms. *Hitopadeśasamuccaya*, National Archives, I.1608.5. Colophon [3]: *Śrī–Yakṣamalla–nṛpater–vvijaye ca rājye* | *Bhaktāpurī–nivāsito Varakīrttirāmaḥ*..... | *Samvad–veda–graha–bāṇe* (= 594) *Jyeṣṭha śukle hares* (= 12) *tithau likhyate* || Written at Bhatgaon. The *tithi* ended on May 28th, 1474.

46) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, National Archives, I.1114.2. Colophon [4]: *Śrī–Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapanagare śrī–Kīrttipuṇya–mahāvihārīya–bhikṣu–śrī–Devacandrasya* ..... *Samvat 596 Caitra–śukla–saptamyān–tithau Ārdra–nakṣatre Śukrama–yoge āditya–vāsare likhitam–idaṃ sampūrṇṇa–pustakaṃ* | *R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayajakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye*. Written in the Kīrttipuṇya–*mahāvihāra* (Nhaika Baha) in Patan. The date is verified in all its details for Sunday. March 31st, 1476.

47) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, Kaisher Library, n. 566. Colophon [5]: *Śrī–M.–Nepālamaṇḍaleśvara–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣa–malladevasya vijayarājye* | *Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa*.....*samvat Māgha–śukla–dvādaśī–pra–trayodaśyān–tithau Pūṣya–nakṣatre Āyuṣman*[*–yoge*] × ×. Written at Kathmandu. The date is verified for February, 4th, 1479.

48) Inscription commemorating the building and inauguration of the Pujari Math in Bhatgaon [6]: It is dated Samvat 600 Phālguṇa *śukla* 12, in the reign of Jayayakṣamalla. The date corresponds to February 22nd, 1480.

49) Ms. *Pañcarakṣā*, Tokyo University Library, n. 232. Colophon [7]: *R.–P.–Pb.–śrī–śrī–Jayayakṣamalladevasya vijayarājye* | .... | *Samvat 600 Caitra–kṛṣṇa–dvādaśī–pra–trayodaśyān–tithau Uttarabhadra–nakṣatre Siddhi–pra–Vyatipāta–yoge śukradine*. The date is verified for Friday, April 7th, 1480, except for the two *yoga* which correspond to March 31st.

1) First published 1958; Regmi, n. 20 (fully edited III, 82–85); Rajbamshi, n. 38.

2) Published in *CSPMIO*, 1427, n. 7280; Regmi, n. 21; Rajbamshi, n. 29.

3) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 75, and by Bendall, *History*, 29; Regmi, n. 22; Rajbamshi, n. 40.

4) First published 1958; Regmi, n. 23; Rajbamshi, n. 41.

5) First published 1958; Regmi, n. 24; Rajbamshi, n. 42.

6) Unpublished and unseen. Mentioned by W. Korn, *The traditional architecture of the Kathmandu valley*, Kathmandu 1976, 44.

7) Unpublished; registered in *CSMTUL*.

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50) Ms. *Amarakośa*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1661. Colophon [1]: *Negraptābda* (= *Nepālābde*?) *kalamba–kūpa–viṣaye Mārgge site ṣat–tithau prapkumne* (?) *samavarttite śaśidine yoge* ..... *vāśye tadā* | .... | *śrīman–śrī–Yakṣamallaḥ prabhu* etc. The word for the second digit (*kūpa* = well) remains unexplained and thus the date cannot be ascertained.

To these documents we could add a fragmentary inscription on the socle of an image of Sūrya near the western gate of Banepa [2], dated *Samvat 579 Māgha–māsa–śuklapakṣa ... Bharuṇī–nakṣatre 39 Siddhi–yoge ... vāsare ... R. –śrī–śrī ... jajamāna–jinarājaḥ*. Probably the king, whose name has peeled off, was Jayayakṣamalla; but we cannot be sure, as a very slight possibility remains that the donor was a last scion of the Rāma family. The date is verified for Friday, January 12th, 1459.

Jayayakṣamalla was born in 528 NS (1408 A.D.) [3] and died in 602 Phālguna *śukla* 11, corresponding to March 1st, 1482 [4]. The modern *vaṃśāvalīs* allow him a reign of 43 years, but his documents show that the reigned from 1428 to 1482, and this represents a long reign of 54 years. He had formally begun his career at the age of five as the nominal governor of Bhatgaon, being mentioned as such in Doc. 7 of Jayajyotirmalla.

According to the precedent set by his father and his uncles, he shared the throne with his younger brother Jayajīvamalla; but the position of the latter was always a subordinate one. Jayajīvamalla died in or shortly after 1447, the year of the demise of the queen–mother Saṃsāradevī, whose position was one of great prestige and apparently of some influence; in this aspect too the traditions of the Tipura family were followed.

Since we lack trustworthy contemporary evidence, it is difficult to assess the achievements of this long reign. On the whole there was peace in the country, but not always so on the border. In 1453 the king called upon two prominent nobles, Udaya Bhāro of the Yetha

1) Partly published in *CBMC*, 162, and again in 1958.

2) Regmi, n. 37 (fully edited in III, 77–78); Rajbamshi, n. 30.

3) According to a *thyasaphu* (family chronicle) in possession of Chandraman Joshi, quoted by Sh. Rajbamshi, in *Pūrṇimā*, 7 (2022 VS), 36; cf. Regmi, I, 450.

4) Same *thyasaphu* as above, quoted by Sh. Rajbamshi in *Pūrṇimā*, 10 (2023 VS), 19; cf. Regmi, *loc. cit.*, Also a *thyasaphu* of the family *purohita* of the Malla kings in Bhatgaon, published by Yogi Narahari Nath, in *Itihās Prakāś*, III, 3, 569.

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Baha in Patan and Śaktisiṃha Rāvut, the feudatory of Pharping, to give guarantees of their loyalty and support against an apprehended attack from the Koki (or Koke) [1] rulers of Champaran, Lohavar etc. (Doc. 26). One of these enemies was almost certainly Madanasiṃhadeva, ruler of Champaran, mentioned in 1454 and 1457 with high-sounding titles; he was the author of the *Madanaratnapradīpa*, but nothing is known of his warlike activities [2]. Doc. 26 reveals that the loyalty of aristocracy was rather shaky. The nobles had to swear a pledge not to listen to the words of the enemy, not to conceal the communications received from him, not to take the side of the Koki who intended to attack Nepal from the East and from the West, to reject their offers without taking heed of them; in short, to stand faithfully at the side of the king. In other words, the king endeavoured to obtain security and tranquillity inside the Valley while he gathered an army to throw back the intended invaders. In the following years also Kīrtisiṃha, the feudatory or governor of Dolkha, tendered his support to the king (Doc. 30) [3].

It seems that for once the Nepalese not only repelled the attack, but also carried the war down to the plains. This campaign is alluded to in high-flown and bombastic terms in a later work, the commentary (*ṭīkā*) to the astrological text *Narapatijayacaryā* composed by king Jagajjyotirmalla of Bhatgaon (1613–1637), of which a manuscript exists in the National Archives, I.1186. At the beginning it gives the genealogical list of its royal author, and Jayayakṣamalla is spoken of as follows:

āsīd–viśvaviśobhinirmmalayaśorāśau raghonvaye |
vikhyāto Jayayakṣamalla–nṛpatir–dātāvadātāśayaḥ |
yo rājyaṃ Mithilāṃ vijitya Magadhaṃ gatvā Gayāṃ pauruṣād
yo Nepālam–akaṇṭakaṃ vyaracayajjitvā nṛpān–pārvvatān ||
prācyāṃ yo Vaṅgadeśaṃ tad–anu Suranadīṃ dakṣiṇe digvibhāge

1) This family or clan name seems unknown, I can only recall that the Bhagalpur plates of Nārāyaṇapāla of Bengal (9th century) refer to a village in the Kakṣa–viṣaya in Tirhut.

2) Bendall, *History*, 19–20. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, VI, Bombay 1960, 408.

3) For the interpretation of these inscriptions see Dh. Bajracharya and T. B. Sresthi, *Dolkhāko aitihāsik rūprekhā*, Kathmandu 2031 VS, 21–22.

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vikhyātaḥ paścimāyāṃ pravilasadasinā Gorakhāpālapātaḥ |
bhūmiṃ saptāhagamyām–api dhanadadiśo yo 'vadhīkṛtya bhuktvā
reme dordaṇḍaśauṇḍaḥ prakharataralasatkāṇḍakodaṇḍapāṇiḥ ||
putrās–trayas–tasya etc. [1].

According to the royal poet, Jayayakṣamalla conquered Mithilā and marched as far as Gayā in Magadha. Of course the Nepalese king may have profited of the utter confusion that reigned in Muslim India during the period before Bahlol Lodi's reconquest of Jaunpur (1479) made the Sultanate of Delhi again the chief power of Northern India. Only such particular conditions can explain how the small Nepalese kingdom was able for a moment to make his arm felt in the foothills. After having dealt with Champaran and Lohavar (but the *ṭīkā* is silent on this score), Jayayakṣamalla may have invaded Tirhut proper (Mithilā), although it is difficult to see in this anything more substantial than a raid. As to his claim concerning Gayā, this is clearly an empty boast.

The *ṭīkā* also states that Jayayakṣamalla made Nepal secure by defeating the hill Rajas; in the east he marched to Bengal and to the southern shores of the Ganges. Of course this claim too cannot have any basis in reality. The king also "contrived the ruin of the prince of Gorkha"; in this case, a successful expedition against a potentially dangerous neighbour, who three centuries later brought to the end the Malla kingdoms, is quite within possibility. Then we are told that to the north he extended his dominions by a distance of seven day's march. The sources of Kirkpatrick tells more or less the same tale, but adds that the king conquered "Sikarjoong of Tibet to the northward" [2]. Śel–dkar–rdzoṅ was then as now an important trade mart on the Nepal–Lhasa route, and as such much coveted by the Nepalese rulers; a passing occupation by Jayayakṣamalla is not unlikely; but no trace of it is found in the Tibetan texts, as far as I am aware.

On the whole, this aggressive policy, even if we reduce it to modest proportions, was a fleeting interlude which left no trace; the Valley was neither fit nor strong not traditionally inclined to support warlike adventures.

1) Published in *CPMDN*, I, 107.
2) Kirkpatrick, 266.

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Jayayakṣamalla's most important action in the field of religion was his entrusting the guardianship of the national shrine of Paśupati Nāth to the Bhaṭṭa Brahmans from Southern India, with whom it has remained to this day. He was also a builder. In 1455 he built the Mul Chok, which today represents the oldest part of the palace complex of Bhatgaon. Slightly later the king caused a little *maṇḍapa* (public rest-house) to be radically re-constructed and enlarged; in the 16th or 17th century it was converted into the magnificent temple of Dattātreya. In 1480 he built near it the Pūjāri Māth, whose splendid lattice windows are perhaps the finest in the Valley [1]. Nepalese artists and craftsmen continued to be highly appreciated and sought for in Tibet; the Sa-skya-pa teacher Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po summoned Nepalese artists to work at the decoration of the monastery of Ṅor, of which he laid the foundations in 1429 [2]. Generally speaking, Indian influence, as mediated by Nepal, continued to make itself felt in Tibetan art; a special Nepalese style (*Bal-ris*) developped in Southern Tibet in the 14th and 15th centuries and formed the mainstay of Tibetan painting in that period [3].

The national language was fostered and cherished. Already in the 14th century Newari had made its first entrance in the inscriptions and colophons, as well as in the chronicles, upto then dominated by Sanskrit. Under Jayayakṣamalla the shift in the balance between the living and the sacred dead languages was rapid; henceforward the inscriptions and colophons were mostly couched in Newari, except for the formal portions containing the praise to the gods and the titles of the ruling king.

With the death of Jayayakṣamalla we have reached the limit set to our study. It is not advisable, however, to cut the matter short at this point and to pass under silence the complicate developments

1) A. W. MacDonald and A. Vergati Stahl, *Newar Art*, Warminster 1979, 111. On the Dattātreya temple see M. S. Slusser and G. Bajracharya, "Two medieval buildings: an architectural and cultural study", in *Artibus Asiae*, 36 (1974), 212–216.

2) A. Ferrari, *mK'yen-brtse's Guide to the holy places of Central Tibet*, Rome 1958, 147.

3) G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, 277. See the Tibetan texts translated by E. Gene Smith in his introduction to *Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tidetan culture* (ed. by Lokesh Chandra), I–III, New Delhi 1907, 38–42.

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after that event. A short summary is in order, and that is what I am proceeding to do, basing myself on the documents collected by Dh. Bajracharya and by Regmi [1].

Jayayakṣamalla's reign had been on the whole a period of internal peace and of cultural achievement. However, it was under his sway that the structure of the state deteriorated steadily, until it reached the breaking point. One disruptive influence was the trend toward local autonomy in the towns which were not usually royal residences, i.e. Patan and Kathmandu. The aristocratic municipal board of Patan was slowly progressing toward independence de-facto, and after the death of the old king Patan became to all intents and purposes a city state, maintaining this position till the end of the 16th century. A similar process had started in Kathmandu, but it did not develop very far, being nipped in the bud after 1484. As a matter of fact Jayayakṣamalla at first kept this development within bonds; the source of Kirkpatrick states that he completely subdued the refractory Rajahs of Patan and Kathmandu [2]. But in the long run the king could not stop the trend toward autonomy.

Another element of disruption was the all too numerous progeny of the king. In 1452 we find three sons mentioned: the elder Jayarāyamalla, the middle Jayaratnamalla and the youngest Jayaraṇamalla (Doc. 23). The terms employed in this list are exactly the same as in the documents of Jayadharmamalla and his brothers; possibly the formula adumbrated already a future *trayorājya*. There had been another son, Jayarājamalla, apparently issued from a secondary wife or a concubine; he died in 1467 (Doc. 40). In 1471 we get another list including, besides the three senior princes, other three names, viz. Rāmamalla, Arimalla and Pūrṇamalla; they too, like Jayarājamalla, seem to have enjoyed a lesser status (Doc. 42). Of these, Pūrṇamalla is not heard of any more, and probably died before his father.

In 1462 the eldest son Jayarāyamalla apparently tried to usurp royal status, because in that year a colophon shows him ruling with full royal titles.

1) Dh. Bajracharya, *Itihās Saṃśodhan Pramāṇ-prameya*, 134–144; Regmi, I, 452–480.

2) Kirkpatrick, 266.

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Ms. *Svarodayadaśā*, National Archives, III.364.3. Colophon [1]: *Samvat 582 Vaiśākha-śukla-caturthī-pra-pañcamyāṃ tithau Mṛgaśira-nakṣatre Śobhana-yoge ādityavāre | śrī-śrī-R.-P.-Pb.-śrī-śrī-Rāyamalladevasya vijayarājye* || No place is mentioned. The date is verified in all its particulars for Sunday, April 5th, 1462.

Either Rāyamalla (or the people behind him) failed in his attempt, or else he found it advisable to give up his claim; probably he had found himself confronted with the united opposition of his father and his brothers [2]. As a matter of fact, according to the tradition of their family all the brothers, or at least the seniormost three, held an equal title to the succession. And when the old king died, events followed exactly the same pattern as in the succession of Jayasthitimalla; that is, the three senior brothers ascended the throne of Nepal, ruling jointly.

But while after 1395 the *trayorājya* had succeeded in maintaining the unity of the country and eventually led to the restoration of sole rule, this time the system broke down in the course of one generation. Bhatgaon continued to be the capital of the kingdom, and most of the documents issued from there were in the name of the three kings, who about 1487 took as their associate their nephew (sister's son) Jayabhīmamalla (Regmi's Doc. 2–13). But almost at once a process of localization set in and grew apace, each of the three brothers asserting his authority in a portion of the kingdom, although maintaining the fiction of joint rule. Already in 1484 Jayaratnamalla established his rule in Kathmandu, or even occupied the town by force. A whole series of documents shows him as the ruler of the town, at first with a subordinate colleague; this wa shis younger-

1) First published 1958, although the ms. was listed with the wrong date of 482 in *CPMDN*, II, 46.

2) There was no other attempt at usurpation, although this has been claimed on the basis of a ms. of the *Pañcarakṣā* in private possession, shown to Dr. L. D. Barnett in the British Museum, said to be dated *M.-Rājārājendra-sakalarājacakrādhīśvaraśrī-śrī-Jayanṛpendramalla-Pb.-devānām.....vijayarājye .....Samvat 596 Jyeṣṭha-māse śukla-pakṣe pūrṇṇamāsyāṃ tithau Anurādha-nakṣatre Siddhi-yoge ..... Kāṣṭamaṇḍapa-nagare* etc.; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, Calcutta 1931, p. 227. Because of the date, Dr. Ray took Jayanṛpendra for another name of Ratnamalla, the third son of Jayayakṣamalla. But there is no need for it. A king Jayanṛpendramalla existed and reigned in Kathmandu from 1674 to 1680. It is thus *a-priori* probable that 596 is but a misreading for 796. The proof that this is indeed the case is given by the chronological verification. The date cannot be verified for 1476, while, if we admit that Siddhi *yoga* is a quite likely mistake for Siddha *yoga*, it is verified in all its particulars for Wednesday, May 17th, 1676.

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brother Arimalla (d. 1504), followed by his son Indramalla; after 1511 Jayaratnamalla remained alone on the throne (Regmi's Doc. 22–32) [1]. As a reaction to Jayaratnamalla's high-handed action, Jayarāyamalla too caused himself to be recognized as the sole local ruler of Bhatgaon (Regmi's Doc. 17–21). The third brother Jayaraṇamalla took hold of the former Bhonta principality with its chief town Banepa.

Jayarāyamalla died in December 1509 [2], and at the same time Jayabhīmamalla disappears from the documents; after that date even the pretence of unity and joint rule was dropped [3]. Jayaraṇamalla, of whom very few documents are extant, acted for a time as regent or co-ruler with Jayarāyamalla's sons in Bhatgaon (Regmi's Doc. 37, dated 1523). Most probably he shifted his residence there; and thus quite naturally, when Jayaraṇamalla died in 1529 without leaving male issue, the kingdom of Banepa was merged into that of Bhatgaon. Jayaratnamalla of Kathmandu died in 1520 and was succeded by his son.

As to the third great town, Patan, the *mahāpātras* governing that city-state recognized the formal overlordship of the three kings in general, and of Kathmandu in particular, till about 1520. Then Patan rejected Malla suzerainty and became even formally independent under the dynasty founded by Viṣṇusiṃha, one of the three chief *mahāpātras* who had eliminated his colleagues. In about 1600–1604 the city-state was conquered by Śivasiṃha of Kathmaṇḍu, after whose death Patan became a separate kingdom under one of his sons.

After the end of the *trayorājya*, for more that a century and a halft the history of Nepal was that of an unprofitable and barren struggle among the three kingdoms, whose capitals lay at an average of 7–8 miles from each other. And this long-protracted storm in a tea-cup so weakened the Nepal of the Newars, that it fell a prey to the Gorkha conquerors in 1768/9. Thus, because of their own fault, the Newars cesed forever to be the masters in the fertile and happy valley of Nepal.

1) Rectification of dates by Mahesh Raj Pant, «Ratna Malla-saṁgai dekhiekā Indra Mallako antya kasrī bhayo?» in *Pūṇimā*, 47 (2037 VS), 23–25.

2) Datation corrected by Mahesh Raj Pant, «Rāya Mallako mṛtyu kahile bhayo?», *ibid.*, 19–22.

3) An inscription from Kirtipur (Regmi's Doc. 15) shows that in 1515 the *mahāpātras* of Patan still recognized the suzerainty of a *trayorājya* formed by Jayaratnamalla Jayaraṇamalla and Rāmamalla. But after Rāmamalla's death in 1516, Patan made no further attempt to utilize a ghost *trayorājya* as a cover for her total independence.

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CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONDITIONS

A.

The cities of Nepal.

It is difficult to gain an even moderate idea of the medieval structure of the Nepalese state, because our sources are particularly uninformative on this subject.

The kingdom of Nepal normally included the Valley proper (Nepāla–maṇḍala) and some outlying portions, of which the most important were Bhonta (the Banepa/Palamchok region) to the East, Nuvakoth to the West and Pharping to the South–West; all of these were ruled by feudal chiefs acknowledging the suzerainty of the king. When the central power grew stronger, some of these principalities could be brought under direct royal rule. Farther east, the Dolkha district too was under the political influence of the Nepalese monarchy in a varying measure, according to the times.

One of the main changes that characterize the medieval period in the Valley is the rise of the towns and of urban life. This was in contrast with the Licchavi period, when the usual form of human settlement was the village (*grāma*), a combination of which formed a *tala*. Some of the larger *grāma* and *tala* could receive by royal charter the name *draṅga*, which indicated also the basic administrative unity; but none of these seems to have approached the size of a town [1]. There were two royal residences and seats of the government, both formed probably by little more than a palace with a cluster of houses around it. The older of the two was Mānagṛha, founded by the

[1] See Dh. Bajracharya, *Licchavikālkā abhilekh*, 218–221.

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Licchavis. For a long time it has been identified with the compound of the royal palace at Patan, where the modern name Mangal Bazar seems to perpetuate the old appellation. The present trend of research points with an increasing certainty toward Maligaon or Magal, a locality included in modern Harigaon (or Handigaon) to the north-east of old Kathmandu, where the local conditions seem to suit best the vague evidence supplied by epigraphy. Unluckily, we cannot expect confirmation of this theory from archaeological excavations, as the site has been heavily built upon in quite recent times [1].

The other ancient capital was Kailāsakūṭa, a creation of Aṃśuvarman and the seat of the de-facto Gupta rulers as well as of the restored Licchavis. It has been usually equated with the hillock near Deo Patan still called Kailāsa. Another theory would look for it at Tagal, quite close to Maligaon [2]. The most recent study on this subject would locate Kailāsakūṭa in Yaṅgal (South Kathmandu), and more precisely in the place called in the middle ages Kelāchem (the name is attested from 1143 to 1385) and now Kelay Chok [3]. However, I think that the time is not yet ripe for a final choice.

The rise of actual towns and of urban life was a later development [4]. It was due, as suggested already by S. Lévi, to a shift in the economy of Nepal from a purely agricultural to a mixed one, in which trade and crafts played an increasing role; the beginning of this process was roughly contemporary with the beginning of the period treated in the present work.

The three main cities arose as the result of the consolidation of pre-existing villages and scattered settlements is a restricted area; the city plans were strongly influenced also by their position on the main routes followed by commerce.

1) Th. Manandhar, "Nepal in the early period: gleanings from the Bendall *vaṃśāvalī*", in *JNRC*, 1 (1977), 86.

2) Th. Manandhar, *loc. cit.*

3) M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 118*b*–123*a*.

4) Identification of the names of *vihāras*, temples and other monuments in the cities and villages of Nepal is facilitated by the practically complete survey published by C. Pruscha (ed.), *The Kathmandu valley, the preservation of physical environment and cultural heritage: a protective inventory*, 2 vols., Vienna 1975. Earlier lists of the *vihāras* in the three cities are found in D. L. Snellgrove, "Shrines and temples of Nepal", in *Arts Asiatiques*, 8 (1961), 3–10 and 93–120; and M. B. Joseph, "The *vihāras* of the Kathmandu valley", in *Oriental Art*, 17 (1971), 121–143.

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One of the earliest centres was the village of Deo Patan, hallowed by the nearness of the national shrine of Paśupati. It was probably the place of coronation of the kings, although two instances only are documented. Inspite of its religious importance, Deo Patan never developped into a real town, nor was it ever the residence of the kings and of the governement. Its Newari name Gwanla designated also the core of the Valley as contrasted with Bhonta and Tipura (Bhatgaon); being the symbol of royal legitimacy, Gwanla was a pawn fought for in the long struggle between the two families, to which Jayasthitimalla put an end.

If we were to judge by the number of the preserved colophons and inscriptions, we would at once conclude that Patan was the most important of the three cities in the medieval period. It rose around a nucleus represented by a hamlet called Yūpagrāma in Licchavi times, through the usual process of coagulation and incorporation of the surrounding villages. The city is called Ëla (Yala) in Newari, and Lalitapurī, Lalitakramā, Lalitabrumā or Lalitapattana in Sanskrit. The pivot of the town was and is the royal palace of Mānigal, on the emplacement of old Yūpagrāma. The name seems to be modelled upon that of Mānagṛha; when Patan became the capital (or one of the capitals) in the Transitional Period, the local people may have built in the centre of the city a new Mānagṛha intended to replace the original one, much as Byzantium, the new Rome, was intended to replace the old Rome [1]. Even today the complex of buildings on the Darbar Square before the royal palace is called Mangal Bazar, a vulgar pronunciation of Mānigal, partly under the influence of the Sanskrit *maṅgala*, good luck. The town seems to have been divided, at least theoretically, into two main sections, north and south of the palace, called respectively Uttaravihāra and Dakṣiṇavihāra. Each of them in its turn was subdivided into *tol* (wards), which reproduced, at least in part, the former division into hamlets. They usually took the name from the main Buddhist *vihāra* included in the ward, so that in this context *vihāra* was synonimous with ward [2]. This was

1) M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 109*b*–112*b*, would rather explain Mānigal as an old Newari term meaning "central place". The same author denies also the role of Patan as a capital even in the late Transitional and Early Malla period, on grounds which, however are not wholly convincing.

2) For the identification of the *vihāras* in Patan see the list by N. Gutschow and

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but a consequence of the fact that Patan was from the beginning, and still is, a dominantly Buddhist city [1].

Bhatgaon (Khopva, Khvopa or Khṛmpṛm in Newari, Bhaktapurī or Bhaktagrāma in Sanskrit) is said to have been founded about in the same period as the Newari Samvat, i.e. in the 9th century, although VW gives the credit for both achievements to one Ānandamalla, younger son of Abhayamalla [2]. Of course Ānandamalla is a mistake for Ānandadeva, and the legend alludes to the foundation of the Tipura palace and not of the town, which had come into being much earlier. According to a recent study, the town originated from the merger of two separate settlements, which existed already in Licchavi times; the one, called Khṛpṛṅ-grāma, in modern Tulachi Tol, and the other, called Makhodul, in Lakulache Tol; to these was added an outpost of Makhodul, called Makhopṛṃ, situated in Golmadhi Tol [3]. The name Bhaktagrāma appears for the first time as early as 924 [4]. In the 12th century Ānandadeva elevated the town to the rank of secondary royal residence, laying thus the foundations for its ever rising importance. The town flourished and became a thriving commercial centre, thanks to its situation on the trade route to Banepa and thence to Tibet; then after a less brilliant period the Tipura princes renewed Bhatgaon's political importance, overcame their rivals and united the Valley under their sway; under Jayasthitimalla Bhatgaon replaced even formally Patan as the capital of Nepal, and when the old kingdom broke apart, it was Bhatgaon which became the seat of the senior branch of the Malla dynasty. Following the lead of its ruling family, Bhatgaon shared its zealous support for Hinduism, mostly of the Śaiva persuasion, and to this day

H. Sakya, "The monasteries (*baha* and *bahi*) of Patan: a contribution towards the cultural topography of a Newar town", in *JNRC*, 4 (1980), 161–174.

1) On Patan in general see M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 95*b*–100*b*.

2) Wright, 163.

3) B. Kölver, "Aspects of Nepalese culture: ancient inscriptions and modern *yātras*", in *Proceedings of the first symposium of Nepali and German Sanskritists 1978*, Kathmandu 1980, 157–172.

4) Ms. *Kiraṇatantra*, National Archives, V.893. Colophon (quoted by D. P. Lamsal, *Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī*, 2, Kathmandu 2023 VS, 20): *Samvat 44 śrī-Bhaktapurādhivāsino bhaṭṭāraka-paṇḍitācārya-śrī-Udayapālasomasya pustakam-idaṃ.*

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it remains a predominantly Hindu city, the seat of orthodoxy, in contrast with Buddhist Patan and mixed Kathmandu [1].

In a similar way Kathmandu, later called also Kāntipura, came into being through the merger of two adjacent settlements, known in early Licchavi times as Koligrāma and Dakṣiṇakoligramā, straddling to the north and south the old trade route to Banepa; in medieval times they came to be known by the Newari names Yambu and Yaṅgal respectively [2]. According to one modern chronicle, Kāntipura was founded in 3824 Kaliyuga, i.e. 724 A.D.; according to another, the founder was Guṇakāmadeva in the last quarter of the 10th century [3]. The second date seems nearer to the truth because, differently from Patan and Bhatgaon, the fusion started late and was a long-drawn process. In the early middle ages the colophons employ the two Newari names only, Yambu being the more important of the two halves of the growing town. In the course of time the city thus formed came to be known by the name of a building, the Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa, which was, and still is, a *maṇḍapa* or *sattal* (public rest-house) and not a temple. According to an unpublished manuscript account, it existed already in 1090, in the reign of Harṣadeva; its first published mention belongs to 1143 (Doc. 5 of Narendradeva). In 1379 Jayasthitimalla donated it to the Śaiva Nāthayogins (or Kānphaṭa), and since that time the name of the building came to designate the new city [4]. Although the two Licchavi capitals seem to have been situated within what is now Great Kathmandu, and although the religions centre Deo Patan was situated in its district, during the middle ages Kathmandu played a secondary role in comparison with her sister-cities; it became a royal capital only with Jayaratnamalla in 1484 [5].

We have no significant evidence to show which was the capital of Nepal in the period before Jayasthitimalla. It has been maintai-

1) The best monograph on ancient Bhatgaon is N. Gutschow and B. Kölver, *Ordered space and functions in a town of Nepal*, Wiesbaden 1975. See also M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 100*b*–104*a*.

2) G. Bajracharya, "Yaṅgal, Yambu", in *CNS*, 2/1 (1974), 90–98.

3) Wright, 154; B. J. Hasrat, *History of Nepal*, 46.

4) On the Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa see M. S. Slusser and G. Bajracharya, "Two medieval buildings: an architectural and cultural study", in *Artibus Asiae*, 36 (1974), 180–212.

5) On Kathmandu see M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 87*b*–95*b*.

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ned that "the number of manuscripts emanating from Patan has no bearing on its political role. These manuscripts were not political documents, but largely Buddhist text that were naturally numerous in Buddhist Patan" [1]. This assertion is too sweeping. There were many non–Buddhist manuscripts copied in Patan. Above all, if the material is sufficient, a statistical approach may have some bearing on the question, if only an indicative one. A list of the manuscripts and inscriptions belonging expressly to one or the other of the three cities would afford some slight clues. There is a continuous flow of manuscripts from Patan from the end of the tenth century to 1382, with a decrease during the reign of Anantamalla (1274–1308). Kathmandu yields a substantial amount of documents during the Transitional Period, but only five during the long period from 1200 to 1382. Bhatgaon is definitely less productive: only three documents from 1005 to 1147, then a body of five ranging from 1158 to 1171, the years that correspond to the reigns of Ānandadeva and Rudradeva, after which there is practically nothing until 1380.

Working upon this basis, narrow and unsafe as it is, I would sketch the following development. Kathmandu and Patan both represented centres of power during the Transitional Period. Patan seems to have been the capital of Nepal during the Early Malla and the Tipura/Bhonta periods, except for the few years when under Ānandadeva Bhatgaon was the royal residence. Lastly, Bhatgaon became the capital with Jayasthitimalla and played that role till the tripartite division of the kingdom early in the 16th century. Until better evidence is available, I think it advisable to pay some attention, for what it is worth, to the possibilities sketched out above.

B

The Monarchy

The Nepalese monarchy was theoretically absolute and by divine right. The king reigned by the favour of Paśupati; but after Jayasthitimalla, although Paśupati retained the first place, the king is expressly said to rule by the favour of Māneśvarī.

1) M. S. Slusser, *Op. cit.*, 123*b*.

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The rules of succession to the throne are an interesting and somewhat complicated subject. Leaving apart the *dvairājya* in its meaning of double kingdom, which strictly speaking cannot come under this heading, we can distinguish five modes of succession.

1) Primogeniture, i.e. succession from the father to the eldest son. This is the normal system in India and in many other countries [1]; it was also the most common one in Nepal.

1) Fratrilineal succession, from the elder to the younger brother(s); after the death of the last brother the throne passed to the eldest son of the first brother. This system, for which there is hardly any example in India, was followed for some time in the 12th century (Ānandadeva–Rudradeva–Amṛtadeva–Someśvaradeva), but was never repeated later.

3) Co–rulership by two rulers, who may or may not be brothers (*ubhayarājya*). This was an early mode, followed at intervals during the 11th century (Narendradeva – Udayadeva, Bhāskaradeva – Jayadeva, Baladeva – Yiśadeva). Possibly a recollection of it helped to originate the next one.

4) Co–rulership of three brothers (*trayorājya* or *tribhayarājya*). This seems to have been the rule followed by the Karṇāṭa–Malla dynasty after the death of Jayasthitimalla, till the system broke down after 1520.

5) Alternance between two dynasties, regulated by a sort of family compact. This mode was agreed upon in 1258 and was followed more or less regularly for a century or so.

Whether this oscillation between different systems was connected with some peculiarity of the Newar social order, is a problem that would deserve a closer investigation.

In practice, the royal power was often conditioned by the aristocracy, who in times of disorder had their say in the election of the king (*Nepāla–samasta–saṃmatena*; *sarve–saṃmatena*). But the fact remains that however anarchical, however divided, the country always recognized one (or more) kings as the head of state. The monarchy,

[1] J. W. Spellman, *A study of kingship from the earliest times to circa A. D. 300*, Oxford UP 1964, 57: "There can be no doubt that the normal method of succession was by primogeniture".

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however weakened, never resolved itself into a feudal confederacy, like the Marathas at the end of the 18th century.

C

The Nobility

We have to distinguish the aristocracy of the Valley and its three chief cities from the feudatories in the outlying district (*viṣaya*). The nobility of the Valley in part descended from court officials and in part rose from the level of local notables.

Some court official of Licchavi times still lingered on: such was the *vārta*, a title that occurs for the last time in 1052 (Doc. 6 of Baladeva). The highest title of office was later that of *mahātha* (Sanskrit *mahattaka*) [1], prime minister, for which the literary forms *amātya* and *mantrin* are used in poetry or in highly formal portions of the documents. The use of *mahātha* as a purely honorary title was exceptional; one such case happened when on Wednesday, May 13th, 1377, the heir–apparent Jayadharmamalla, then ten years old, was formally appointed *mahātha* by his father [2].

By far the most common title for the average nobleman was *bhāro*, or *bhāroka* or *bhalloka*, which came into use in the early 11th century. Ga–su Bhāro appears in c. 1022, and his son Dho–ga Bhāro in c. 1053 invited to Nepal the Paṇḍita Jñānākara, a disciple of Nāropā; to the same period belonged a Bāro P'yag–rdum, who collaborated in the translation of Indian Buddhist texts into Tibetan [3].

In the 14th the term *mulamī* came into use. It was a higher title than *bhāro*; in 1377 we find Teja Rām *bhāro* being promoted to *mulamī* (V³, 57*a*). In the following century most of the leading

1) Doc. 3 of Jayārjunadeva. This title was used also in Tirhut, in the Khasa kingdom of Western Nepal (Aśokacalla's Bodh Gaya inscription of the year 74, *Epigraphia Indica*, XII, 30), and elsewhere.

2) 497 Jyeṣṭha *śukla* 5, Puṣya–nakṣatra, Dhruva–*yoga*, *budha–vāra* (verified); V³, 57*a*.

3) H. Eimer, *rNam thar grags pa*: *Materialien zu einer Biographie des Atiśa*, 237 and 282; R. O. Meisezahl, review of H. Eimer's two Atiśa books, in *Oriens*, 27–28 (1981), 599.

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nobles held this title. Both *bhāro* and *mulamī* were titles peculiar of the landed aristocracy.

Some of the nobles holding estates on the fringe of the Valley, but still within it, enjoyed higher titles; such was the Sakhupati Rāja, lord of Sankhu, mentioned in 1343 (V^3, 48*a*).

The city nobility (*pradhāna*) had a different character and used different titles. It developped chiefly at Patan when the monarchical institutions weakened in the 13th century. The typical title of the nobleman was *pātra* or *mahāpātra*, usually coupled with the term *pradhānāṅga*, i.e. member of the patriciate. They were the heads of the single wards (*tol*; in Patan, *vihāra*), and may be considered (at least partly) as descended from the headmen of the villages which were merged to form the city. They were Kṣatriya by caste, as shown by the ending *–varman* attached to their names. The first mention of a *pradhānāṅga pātra* goes back to 1283 [1]. A prominent figure was Jayaśihamalladevavarman, who appears in 1337 as *pradhānāṅga mahāpātra* of the Hnol *vihāra*, being issued (*kuṭumbodbhava*) from the family of the Uttaravihāra of Patan (Doc. 1 of Jayārimalla). He was very long–lived, and we find him again as *kuṭumbaja–mahāpātra* in 1350 and as *pradhānāṅga mahāpātra* in 1376 (see back p. 112). Another prominent nobleman was the *mūrtyaṅga mahāpātra* Meghapālavarman of 1357–1359 (Piṃtha Bahal inscription; see above p. 125).

In the course of the 14th century these families gained an ever increasing power, so that the modern chronicles tell us that at one time Kathmandu was divided between twelve "kings" while Patan had as many "kings" as there were wards, although the situation thus depicted is wrongly placed in connection with Nānyadeva and Harisiṃha [2].

Among the *pātras* of Patan seven families became prominent, and step by step their heads (the *saptakuṭumbaja*) became a sort of town council with wide powers. The beginnings of this development go back to the early 12th century, the term *kuṭumbaja* appearing for the

1) Fragmentary ms. in private possession. Colophon (published in Regmi, I, 251): *Samvat 403 Māgha–kṛṣṇa–aṣṭamyāṃ śrī–Lalitābrumāyāṃ śrī—Mānigalake pradhānāṅga pātra śrī–Anantapālavarmanasya śrī–Ujotapālavarmanasya bharātāsahnāmanasya svakiyaṃ svabhujya mānikaṃ.* No name of king is mentioned. The date corresponds to January 22nd, 1283.

2) Wright, 172.

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first time in 1125 and 1131 [1]. Then we find a *kuṭumbaja pātra* in 1142 [2] and a *kuṭumbaja nara–pātra* in 1147 (Doc. 1 of Ānandadeva). The board of the *saptakuṭumbaja* was presided over by three chairmen, styled *pradhānāṅga–mūrtyaṅga–mahāpātra–pramukha* (V^1, 25*a*) or more simply *tribhayapātra–pramukha* (Doc. 29 of Jayasthitimalla; cf. Doc. 33 of Jayajyotirmalla). It is not clear whether their charges were hereditary or they were chosen in turn among the seven families.

This town council seems to have been kept within due bonds by Jayasthitimalla and his immediate successors, as it is very seldom mentioned during their reign; but with Jayajyotirmalla and with Jayayakṣamalla it took definitely the character of the collective presidence of an autonomous city–state. One of the leading figures in this development seems to have been Udayasiṃhamallavarman, mentioned in 1418 and 1427 as *mahāmahāpātra* of the Dakṣiṇavihāra (Doc. 33 of Jayajyotirmalla). He was one of the three *mahāpātras* appointed to stage the performance of the *Caturaṅka–Mahābhāratanāṭaka* on the occasion of prince Jayarāyamalla performing a *tulāpuruṣamahādāna* of gold [3]. Somewhat later Jayasiṃhamalla, bearing the same titles as Udayasiṃhamalla and perhaps a relative of his, appears in a colophon without any mention of a king [4]. As we have seen, the city–state was practically independent by the time of Jayayakṣamalla's demise; in 1520 it even ceased to recognize the formal suzerainty of the Malla kings. In 1530 Viṣṇusiṃha, a descendant of Jayasiṃhamalla, abolished the council of the seven families and turned the aristocratic republic into a monarchy of the traditional type [5].

In Kathmandu a similar development had started under the local Vaiśya *mahāpātra*; but it was cut short by Jayaratnamalla's seizure of power in 1484.

[1] Docs. 13 and 16 from the Rudravarṇa–*mahāvihāra* in Patan, published in H. Sakya, *Śrī–Rudravarṇa–mahāvihāra–sthita tālapatra abhilekh.*

[2] Doc. 19 from the Rudravarṇa–*mahāvihāra.*

[3] Undated ms., National Archives, I.449. Passage first published in *Itihās–saṃśodhanako pramāṇ–prameya* and then in Regmi, I, 436–437 and 447–448.

[4] Ms. *Rāmāṅkanāṭika*, National Archives, IV. ?. Passage published in Regmi, I, 448.

[5] For some account of the Patan *mahāpātras* see Dh. Bajracharya, *Itihās Saṃśodhana pramān–prameya*, 2–17; Regmi, I,447–449; and the editorial in *Pūrṇimā*, 15 (2024 VS), 334–336.

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In contrast with the nobility, the religious leaders seem to have played little or no political role. Plenty of names and titles are known from the colophons, but none of the *rājaguru* or of the court *vajrācārya* ever became a Richelieu of mediaeval Nepal. The only time in which the "clergy" (if this name can be employed in a Hindu society) were allowed any say in the social reorganization, but not in the actual working, of the government of the country, was under Jayasthitimalla.

D

Outlying districts and feudatories

On the outskirts of the Valley, geographically speaking outside it, lay some tracts which were organized either as outlying districts (*viṣaya*) governed by royal officials (*viṣayādhipati*), or as feudatory chiefships. The dividing line between the two types cannot be drawn exactly; sometimes the *viṣaya* grew gradually so autonomous as to become a semi-independent chiefship, while in other cases (more rarely) the royal control tightened and a principality could be reduced to little more than a district. In the early period the feudatories usually bore the old title *sāmanta* or *mahāsāmanta*, which had also been worn by Nānyadeva of Mithilā at the beginning of his career [1].

Our sources do not allow us to obtain a consistent picture of the cluster of chiefships that surrounded the valley. We can only collect here the scattered information available from the documents published in the preceeding pages.

Gaṇḍigulma in 1093 and Pañcāvata in 1101 appear only once as districts (*viṣaya*).

Pannaga or Panuṃga is mentioned in 1150 and 1160 as a district ruled by a *viṣayādhipati* with the title of *mahāsāmanta*, which means that it was well on the way of becoming a feudatory chiefship.

Udayāpura appears in 1066, 1104, 1120 and 1128 as a full-fledg-

[1] On the *sāmantas* see K. P. Jayaswal, Preface to his edition od the *Rājaniti-ratnākara*, 19–20, and K. K. Mishra, "The assembly of the Sāmanta in early medieval India", in *JIH*, 42 (1964), 241–250.

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ed feudal principality, which from the beginning to the end was ruled by a *mahāsāmanta*. The Udayāpura chiefs played a not inconsiderable political role.

Dhavalaśrotrī or Mangvara is mentioned in 1100, 1101, 1183 and 1184. It was the most unruly of the lot, and its *mahāsāmantas* tried on all these occasions to vindicate their independence.

With the advent of the Mallas the title *sāmanta* tends to disappear; also, there is no further mention of the principalities and districts of the preceeding period. This was probably due to the extension of the renewed royal authority to all the frontier tracts, and possibly also to some change in the official toponimy. New names appear, and in the 13th to 15th centuries the most important feudatories were those of Pharping and of Nuvakoth.

Pharping first appear in our sources in 1092 and 1165 as a simple *viṣaya*. When we meet it again in 1260, it was going through a transitional stage, being governed by a *viṣayādhipati* with the title of *mahāsāmanta*. We do not know what was its status when in 1305 it was taken and burnt by the Tipura troops. One generation later we find the feudal state not only existing, but even claiming independence.

Ms. *Agastyasaṃhitā*, National Archives, IV.325. Colophon [1], first part: *Śrī–Nepālika–samvat 455 Phālguṇa–śukla–trayodaśyāṃ budhavāre Phanapiṃga–mahānagare paramabhaṭṭārake ityādirājāvalī adyaha śrīmat–prauḍha–pratāpa–cakravartti Nepāla–sakalabhūvanādhipati asapati gajapati narapati rāyatrayādhipati mahāhammīra cauhathamastakajūkeśaro mahāmāyā–Jhaṅkeśvarī–varalabdharājyaṃ karoti ..... Śulaṅkīvaṃśādhipati śarpaki mahārāutta śrī–Jaitasiṃhadevānāṃ vijayarājyaṃ karoti | tasmin kāle varttamāne kumāra–śiromani rāuta śrī–Jīvasiṃhadevānāṃ tadā ādeśaṃ diyate Ratnaparīkṣā–nāma–pustakaṃ syātheṅ prasādaṃ krīyate tad–āsā pustakaṃ svān prasādena saṃpaurṇaṃ bhaviṣyati | tetavavāstavya Vaṇikasiha nāyaka–suta Jayaśiha Bharokasya pustakaṃ Vārāṇasilipinā nāgarākṣaraṃ vividharatnaśāstra–pustakaṃ likhyate yathā Mahārāṣṭrasaṃ Paṇḍita śrī–Damodara pustaka likhitam–idaṃ....* In its second part the colophon mentions again *Śulakīya–vaṃśa Jaitasiṃhadeva Rāmaṃ bāṇāṃte gatābde dvādaśam, māyā mṛgānāṃ muñce sitayāmi.... nandantu loka Śikharāpurīyaṃ | abhedya rājyaṃ Jaitasiṃhadeva || Jaibhāratānāṃ sa ca yudhyakāle | darpahito pañcarūpātanāni | jitvā Gajoyaṃ Navakoṭa–rājyaṃ Nepāla–stambhaṃ raṇaraṅgadhīraḥ || tam eva koṭau acale sadaivaṃ Meru–samāno sarva–rājadhānī || Śiṣareśvarāṇāṃ anādidaive || vaṃśa–prasanno Śulaṅkī–narendrā || Śiṣarāpurīṇāṃ karotu rājyaṃ.* According to the Sūrya Siddhānta, in that year Pauṣa was *kṣaya* and Phālguṇa was intercalary. The month here mentioned corresponds to *nija*–Phalguṇa, and the date is verified for the first hours of March 8th, 1355.

1) Published in Regmi, I, 409–410.

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According to this document, Jaitasiṃha of the Śulaṅkī family claimed absolute independence (*vijayarājyaṃ*) by the grace of the goddess Jhaṅkeśvarī (a local form of the Grand Mother), with the title *mahārāut* or *mahārāvut*, which the princes of Śikharapurī (i.e. Pharping) alone bore in this territory, and which reminds us of the *rāvat* of Rajasthan and Gujarat. We may even suppose that the family name Śulaṅkī (also spelt Śurakī) is cognate with the Solaṅkī of Anhivaḍa in Gujarat; in that case the Pharping family had immigrated from Western India. The colophon mentions also the prince (son?) Jīvasiṃha and records Jaitasiṃha's participation in the expedition to Nuvakoth after the deposition of its prince Gaja (see later).

The *mahārāvutta* of Pharping (almost certainly Jaitasiṃha) died on August 11th, 1337 [1]. No further information is forthcoming until 1372, when the great Svayambhū Nāth inscription (Doc. 7 of Jayārjunadeva) shows *mahārāvutta* Jūṭasiṃha of Śikharapurī recognizing the suzerainty of Jayārjunadeva and Jayasthitimalla and collaborating in the work of restoration after the destruction wrought by the Muslims. In 1391 Yuthasiṃha was still ruling at Pharping together with some of his brothers under the suzerainty of the Nepalese king (Doc. 24 of Jayasthitimalla). The names of the brothers are found in the undated introduction to the play *Rāmāyaṇanāṭaka*, National Archives, I. 1418 [2]; they were Jayajaitrasiṃha, Jayarājasiṃha, Jayaruddhasiṃha and Yakṣasiṃha. In 1407 Jayayūthasiṃha was dead, but four of his brothers were still ruling, except that Rāmasiṃha and Devasiṃha had taken the place of Jayarājasiṃha and Yakṣasiṃha (Doc. 20 of Jayadharmamalla).

This collective rule may have weakened the principality, which remained subservient to the central government. In 1453 we find *rāvutta* Śaktisiṃha giving pledges of loyalty to the king (Doc. 26 of Jayayakṣamalla). Then the princes of Pharping fade into obscurity, although this tiny feudatory state lasted till the middle of the 16th century.

The other major feudatory was Nuvakoth, a fortress which held a strategically and commercially important position on the border towards the Khasa kingdom of Western Nepal. We know little of its

1) 457 Śrāvaṇa *śudi* 15; V³, 49*b*.

2) Published by Regmi, I, 411–412 and 635; also by Mahesh Raj Pant, in *Pūrṇimā* 36 (2034 VS), 296.

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early history. The local chiefs entered the stage when after the Tirhutia invasion of 1311 they rebelled against the weak government of Patan; however, they were defeated in 1315 by Jayarudramalla. The latter was again charged (in 1317–18) with repressing their turbulence, but proved unable to take the fortress. The Nuvakoth chief kept quiet for some time, but then, taking profit of the difficulties caused by the famine and pestilence of 1328–29, made a bid for independence. In 1332–33 *sāmanta* Gaja entered into an agreement with Jayarājadeva of Palamchok and took arms against Tipura, without much success. In 1334 Jayasiṃha revolted against Gaja and seized power with the help of Gaja's own son Rohīdāsa. The deposed chief requested the help of Tipura, Bhonta, Patan and Pharping; their united forces besieged Nuvakoth, but had to retire. After this Jayasiṃha remained independent for some years, until his subjects revolted, and in 462 Māgha *kṛṣṇa* 13 (= 1342, February 4th) he was killed.

He was succeeded by his son Jaga *sāmanta*. Till then the two rival families of the Valley, fully occupied in their eternal squabbles, had not taken notice of this little centre of dissidence at their door. Relations were peaceful, and during the interregnum that followed the death of Jayārimalla on 465 Kārttika *kṛṣṇa* 5 (= October 26th, 1344) Jaga even paid a visit to Tipura, we do not know with which results. Soon after Tipura and Bhonta agreed upon the enthronement of Jayarājadeva and became free to tackle the Nuvakoth affair. After some discussions, an all–Nepalese expedition was set upon foot in 1353. It marched in two prongs, one division taking the north–western route through the Nagarjuni hills, while another moved by a devious route from Lele towards the west and north. The result of the undertaking is unknown, but apparently it met with some amount of success. Jaga *sāmanta* is heard of no more, and instead we read of one Jetapāla *mahātha* driven out of Nuvakoth in 1358, taking refuge in Tokha. This *mahātha* was apparently a representative of the central power in Nuvakoth, or perhaps among the outer feudatories at large. In 1361 a royal general (*jodhapati*), who had conquered Salaṃkoth of Nuvakoth, visited Tipura and gave advice on how to rebuild the fortress of Nuvakoth.

During the reign of Jayasthitimalla the situation in Nuvakoth was not clear; we know only that in the autumn of 1383 the people there besieged Sākhakvāth. Then there is utter silence and Nuvakoth may

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have been fully incorporated into Nepal. The last piece of evidence is an inscription of 1441 in the Nārāyaṇa temple at Nuvakoth; one śrī-Ripumalla was making costly offerings to the god. He bore no titles and his position is not clear; perhaps he was merely a prominent citizen of the town [1].

The case of Nuvakoth differs from that of Pharping; it was not the seat of a feudal family of ancient origin, but was an unruly border district, whose chieftains attempted during a comparatively short period to achieve independence.

E

Economy and coinage

It is but inherent in the nature of our sources that we do not get from them any information about the common people, and chiefly about the peasantry. Still, it is remarkable that the colophons have so little to say about the wealthy merchant class, which must have been one of the cornerstones of Nepalese economy. An exception might be made for the goldsmiths (*suvarṇakāra*, *kanakakāra*), who are mentioned a couple of times as donors; theirs was in the middle ages, as it is today, one of the principal crafts among the Newars.

Some glimpses of the working of rent (usually for a five-years period) and of sales of land are afforded by the interesting old palm-leaf documents in the collection of the Rudravarṇa-*mahāvihāra* in Patan. They are thirty-seven pieces, ranging from 103 to 349 NS (983 to 1229 A.D.), plus another from the Woku Baha dated 481 NS (1361 A.D.) [2]. All of them are in the form of contracts for transactions (rent or sales) in land, and as such they are very instructive for the medieval topography of Patan, specifying as they to the names and the limits of the fields dealt with. They would deserve a special study, which I cannot undertake here.

1) The above sketch of the history of Nuvakoth follows Dh. Bajracharya and T. B. Sresthi, *Nuvākothko aitihāsik rūprekhā*, Kathmandu 2032 VS, chiefly 32–44, based almost exclusively upon V^3.

2) H. Sakya, *Śrī-Rudravarṇa-mahāvihāra sthita tālapatra-abhilekh*, Lalitpur, Buddha Samvat 2542 = 2037 VS (1980 A.D.).

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The ancient chronicle informs us that Ānandadeva (1147–1167) "made [permissible] the sale and purchase of houses and fields in Nepal to all the chief officials (*mahāmaṇḍalīka*), to the *mahāpātra–pramukha*, and to all the subjects down to their sons and grandsons" (V^1, 25*a*). In this form the enactment cannot be correct, or else it is only a recognition of the already prevailing practice, because the Rudravarṇa documents show that such sales took place "according to the law of non–revertibility, after having accepted the price" since 158 NS (1038 A.D.) at least [1].

Turning now to the coinage antecedent to the Gorkhali conquest, it can be divided into three periods. The first includes the coins of the Licchavi period (5th–8th centuries; copper only) and their imitations in the following centuries; the second period covers the medieval coinage (12th–15th centuries), while the third includes the issues of the three Malla kingdoms (16th century to 1768) [2].

It is now almost certain that no new coins were struck in the post–Licchavi period (8th–12th centuries), although the old types continued to be imitated for a long time. The names of the coins of Licchavi times too continued in usage, and the Rudravarṇa documents show prices expressed in terms of *pāṇa*, *purāṇa* and *pāṇa–purāna* (the latter often abridged into *pāṇapu*) without interruption from 103 to 194 NS (983–1074 A.D.), with two further isolated instances in 239 and 261 NS (1119 and 1141 A.D.).

For the second period, with which alone we are concerned here, materials are scanty. Nevertheless, our knowledge in this field has been completely renovated by a fairly recent study [3], which affords a convenient basis for the following account.

The period was ushered in by a mint reform carried out by Śivadeva (1098–1126); we are told that he "issued a coinage of silver *damma* with his image as a lion; he also struck gold *śivakāṅka* with

1) *mūlyaṅgṛhitvā anivarttaka–nyāyena vikrītaṃ*; Doc. 3. This is almost the same formula employed in the land deeds of the Gupta dynasty.

2) See in general E. H. C. Walsh, "The coinage of Nepal", in *JRAS* 1908, 669–757 and 1132–1136. For the Licchavi coins: D. W. Macdowall, "The coinage of ancient Nepal", in *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 21 (1959), 39–54; J. C. Regmi, *Licchavi Saṃskṛti*, Kathmandu 2026 NS, 232–238.

3) N. G. Rhodes and C. Valdettaro, "Coins in medieval Nepal", in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 16 (1976), 158–166.

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the legend *śrī–Śivasya*" (*sva–śrī–siṃhākṛti–rūpya–damma–vyavahārā kṛtā | suvarṇamayī śrī–Śivasyākṛti śivakāṅka krtyaḥ*) [1]. The term *śivakāṅka* is evidently patterned on *mānāṅka* and *guṇāṅka* of Licchavi times. Still, it is disturbing to note that before Śivadeva the word *śivakā* was used in connection with grain and measures (*mānika*; one half *kuḍava*) of grain [2].

The short statement of the chronicle has received a welcome confirmation from coins corresponding exactly to the above specifications, which have come to light in Nepal and neighbouring countries. They are gold coins with the legend *śrī–Śivasya* (diam. 8,5 mm, weight 0,9 gms), and silver pieces with the image of a sitting lion (diam. 7,5 mm, weight 0,4 gms) [3]. They may be the actual *śivakā* and *damma* described in the chronicle, or they may be fractions of them. The second alternative seems to be supported by the weight of the gold coins corresponding to one–tenth of the *dīnāra* minted by the last rulers of the Gupta dynasty according to the ancient Indian *suvarṇa* standard of 9,33 g.s. The silver piece, on the other hand, seems unconnected with the Gupta standard and to represent rather one–tenth of the ancient Indian silver *purāṇa*.

The literary sources (chronicles, colophons, inscriptions) supply us with some examples of the actual employ of these coins. In 1119 *yuvarāja* Mahendradeva built a tank and paid his labourers one *damma* per day (V^2, 31*a*). In 1172 king Rudradeva paid four *śivakā* for building the roof of a *paṭṭi*, an one–room annexe for religious travellers [4]. During the great famine of 1232 in the reign of Abhayamalla prices soared to the following levels (V^3, 39*b*; cf. V^1, 25*b*):

one *kuḍava* (today *kuruwa*, c. 8,9 kg) of husked rice [1] *damma*

1) V^1, 24*b*; VK. *Śrī–Śivasyākṛti* may mean "image of Śiva", but the actual coin proves that *ākṛti* refers to the legend and not to an image.

2) Ms. *Hevajraṭikā*, Žva–lu monastery in Tibet. The colophon (published in RS, XXI, 36) is dated Samvat 210 and lists a series of yearly endowments for the cult made by the *saṅgha–bhaṭṭārakas*, of which *dvitiyavarṣe śivakā taṇḍuladhānye pañcāśan–mānikaḥ | aṅkato 'pi dhānyamāni* 50.

3) N. G. Rhodes and C. Valdettaro, *Op. cit.*, 158 and Plate 15, 1–4. Three specimens of these *śrī Śivasya* gold coins were found in Champaran in 1913, but were wrongly attributed to Śivasimha of the Oinwara dynasty. R. D. Banerji, in *ASI Ann. Rep.* 1913/4, 248.

4) Doc. 7 of Rudradeva, in Regmi, III, 8.

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[one *kuḍawa* of] oil and/or salt	1 *pla*
one gold *pla* cost	$2^3/_4$ *damma–pla* [1]
one *karṣa* of silver (*woha*)	20 *damma*
[one *karṣa* of] *padtipā* (*pahripo*?)	72 *damma*
[one *karṣa* of] *khaṣṭakhaṇḍā*	24 *damma*

Some of the commodities mentioned here cannot be identified. As to weights and prices, the *karṣa* is a well–known measure of weight (c. 23,33 gms); later it became also a name of the *damma*. The coin name *damma* appears in Indian inscriptions as *dramma* and goes ultimately back to the Greek silver *drachme*. *Pla* is an abbreviation for *pala* [2], a weight (c. 93,31 gms) equal to four *karṣa*; but already in the present context it is also a name of the *śivakā*. As to the *damma–pala*, it seems to indicate an unit of account based on the current *damma*, exactly as in Licchavi times the *pāṇapurāṇa* was a *purāṇa* calculated in terms of *pāṇas* [3]. If our reading of this difficult passage of the chronicle is correct, it implies that in terms of purchasing power the current *pala* had undergone a devaluation down to 31 p.c. of the gold *pala*, while a *damma* was now worth only 5 p.c. of the *karṣa*, the weight of the original silver *damma*. But both coins must have recovered at least a portion if not most of their purchasing value once the emergency had passed.

It is curious to note that the Rudravarṇa documents take no notice of Śivadeva's reform. After the middle of the 12th century they give up using *pāṇa* and *purāṇa*, and mostly refer to payments in terms of delivery of produce, except for a solitary mention of the *damma* in 294 NS (1174 A.D.) (Doc. 28).

Later there was apparently a sort of reform of the Śivadeva coinage, in connection with a measure taken by king Anantamalla (1274–1308), of whom we are told that "the people suffered because of a *damma* issue made by him" (V^1, 26*a*). This may mean that the

1) In the ms. of V^3 the digit 2 is followed by three tiny vertical strokes; Rhodes and Valdettaro understand the whole as 2111. But the form of the vertical strokes is quite different from that of the number 1, and even today they are employed to indicate the fraction 3/4.

2) This abbreviation is found in several inscription from Orissa; *Epigraphia Indica*, 28 (1949), 47.

3) N. G. Rhodes and C. Valdettaro, 162. Also L. Gopal, *Studies in the history and culture of Nepal*, Varanasi 1977, 28.

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king struck debased coins, causing thereby an inflation with the consequent rise of prices. It is certain, at any rate, that about that time a new monetary system was introduced and the coins were given slightly different names: *nava–damma–śivakā* and *dāma*. The meaning of the first term is not clear. It can mean either a new (*nava*) nominal *śivakā* calculated in terms of current *dammas*; or (less likely) a *śivakā* equated to nine (*nava*) *dammas* [1].

The following documents may serve to illustrate its uses.

A. – The Piṃtha Baha inscription quoted above (p. 125) mentions the donation for cult purposes of *nava–damma–śivakā dāma traya karśāṅka karṣa trayaṃ*. I would translate: "Three *dām* of the *nava–damma–śivakā* [currency]; or, by *karṣa* reckoning, three *karṣa*".

B. – Further below the same inscription [2] mentions the donation of *nava–damma–śivakā trayāṅka pla 3*, which I translate as "three *nava–damma–śivakā*; in figures, 3 *pala*".

Two large copper coins published by Rhodes and Valdettaro (type 3; diam. 19 mm, weight 4 gms; type 4, rectangular 13,6 × 11,7 mm, weight 2,3 gms) may be connected with this currency. However, I would not apply to them name *dām*, which in Nepal always referred to a silver coin.

Clearly by that time the term *karṣa* had become synonimous with *dām*, and *pala* continued to be another name for the *śivakā*; both terms had ceased indicating the weight of the coin. It may be noted that in the 18th century the *dām* had become a tiny silver coin, of which 120 went to the *mohar* of 554 gms; this gave an average weight of 0,04 gms. Several specimens of this coin have been published [3].

About the middle of the 15th century the word *nava* was dropped. This is shown by the following documents:

1) On the whole problem see also J. C. Regmi, *Licchavi Saṃskṛti*, 244–252, with whose conclusions I do not quite agree.

2) This portion of the inscription is dated *479 Āśvina–śukla–trayodaśyāṃ tithau śaura–vāsare*. The date is irregular; the *tithi* ended on October 19th, 1359, which day was a Saturday and not a Sunday.

3) See e.g. T. L. Elder in *Hobbies*, 48 (August 1943), 65, cited by N. G. Rhodes, "The smallest coins in the world", in *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, March 1973, 100. For the evidence of the Capuchin missionaries see L. Petech, *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, II, Rome 1952, 12.

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C. – Under the date of 496 NS (1376 A.D.) an obscure passage of the chronicle mentions on separate occasions fines of the following amounts: *dāma–pla* 10, *pla* 3, *pla* 2, *damma–pla* 4 (V³, 57*a*).

D. – A ms. of the *Aśvāyurvedaśāstra*, Cambridge University Library, Add. 2832, dated 484 NS, has an endorsement by a later hand dated 561 (?) Jyeṣṭha *śukla* 13 (= June 2nd, 1441), to the effect that the ms. was purchased for *damma–śivakā dvaya dāmādhika pañca plāṅkataḥ pla 5 damma 2*. I translate this as "five *pala* plus two *dām* of the *damma–śivakā* [currency]; in figures, 5 *pala* and 2 *damma*".

E. – Doc. 17 of Jayayakṣamalla, dated 1447 (?), mentions on ll. 15–18 one *damma* (five times), 11 *dāma*, four *dāma–śivakā*.

F. – Doc. 29 of Jayayakṣamalla, of 1453, mentions fines of 12 *dām*, 1 *dām*, 9 *damma* and 1 *damma* respectively.

G. – Somewhat different is the case of an inscription of Jayaratnamalla dated 1512 [1]. It mentions *suvarṇa dvaya karṣādhika catuḥ palāṅkita cūrṇa kālā luṃ pla 4 karṣa 2*; that is, "four *pala* plus two *karṣa* of gold; in figures, 4 *pala* and 2 *karṣa* of gold dust". Here we are concerned with quantities of gold dust and not with coins.

The later *vaṃśāvalīs* attribute to Jayaratnamalla the introduction of the copper *paisā* [2]. After him, the old names went out of use, except for the *dām*. As to the gold coins, they must have disappeared long before.

F

The state and religion

The title of this sub–section is self–explanatory: it means that we are concerned here only with the political aspects of religion, i.e. its relationship with the monarchy.

Since the early Licchavi times the political position of religion may be defined as the rule of Hindu kings over a mixed Hindu and

1) Published in Regmi, III, 99.
2) Wright, 203.

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Buddhist society. This general frame never changed during the whole course of Nepalese history. The king could offer respect and protection to the Buddhist *bhikṣus* and *vajrācāryas* and to their *vihāras* and temples; personally he may even have leaned toward the Buddhist creed. However, during the whole of the medieval period we find only two documents attributing to a king the quality of a believer in Buddhism (*paramasaugata*); they are Doc. 4 of Siṃhadeva, dated 1120, and Doc. 7 of Jayabhīmadeva, dated 1270. These solitary exceptions strongly underline the general principle that the king in his public capacity was bound to follow the Hindu rites and to uphold the Hindu social order.

At a lower level, during the middle ages the Buddhist community under the influence of Vajrayāna underwent a gradual but deep transformation, which resulted in the practical disappearance of the *saṅgha* as monastic order. This development contributed to toning down religious differences, so that the people became accustomed to worship both Hindu and Buddhist deities, in a spirit of tolleration and in many cases of syncretism. Still, it has been remarked that some degree of pressure was applied from above upon Buddhism. Of course we cannot take seriously the tale, found in the modern *vaṃśāvalīs*, of a *digvijaya* by Śaṅkara to Nepal, with the aim of suppressing Buddhism and imposing Hinduism upon the people by violent persecution (see above p. 65); it is difficult to discern a historical kernel in this legend. But it is a fact that votive *stūpas* were often converted into *liṅga*. "The present state of these *stūpas* is not the result of general neglect over a long period, but an once–for–all and conscious act of a revision... All the votive *stūpas* were systematically revised" [1]. How far this trend extended in the middle ages, and to what extent it influenced the position of Buddhism, is a question that has still to be determined.

Within the general Hindu frame, Śaivism was the official creed of the monarchy. Paśupati, a form of Śiva, appears as the tutelary deity (*īṣṭadevatā*) of the kings already in the time of Aṃśuvarman, and soon he became the national god, this position being consecra-

1) U. Wiesner, "Nepalese votive stūpas of the Licchavi period: the empty niche", in A. L. Dallapiccola (ed.), *The stūpa: its religious, historical and architectural significance*, Wiesbaden 1981, 171.

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ted by the introduction of the śrī–Paśupati–bhaṭṭāraka era of 879/880. To underline the paramount position of Śaivism, the title *paramaśaiva* is employed now and then in the manuscripts. From a doctrinal point of view, Śaivism must have received a fillip from the arrival of *śaṅkarācarya* teachers, such as those who form the subject of the inscription of 1142 (see above p. 65).

Starting with Jayasthitimalla, while Paśupati retained an unquestioned paramount position, the documents introduce as a protecting deity the ancient goddess Māneśvarī, a form of Durgā, known already in Licchavi times. Another, but later, name of Māneśvarī is Taleju, who was more specially the house goddess (*kuladevatā*) of the Karṇāṭa dynasty [1]. She is popularly supposed to have been introduced into Nepal by Harisiṃha; but she was known and worshipped in Nepal before that date [2]. Of course the immigration of numerous refugees from Mithilā gave a new impetus to her cult. Although no longer a popular deity, she is still highly revered by the royal house. Her first temple, inaccessible not only to Westerners but also to most classes of Hindus, was built in the precincts of the Bhatgaon palace, as if to underscore the city's new status as capital. Only later similar temples were built in or near the royal palaces of Kathmandu (1576) and of Patan (17th century) [3].

Broadly connected with Śaivism is the Nāthayogin or Kānphaṭa sect, founded by Gorakhnāth in the 12th century; very soon it penetrated into Nepal, where it flourished chiefly in the Karṇāṭa–Malla period [4]. The festival dedicated to Gorakhnāth's mythical preceptor Matsyendranāth merged with the procession in honour of the old Newar deity Buṅga–dyo, assimilated in its turn to the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara or Lokeśvara; the Nepalese of all persuasions worship this composite deity, and the Bugma–Lokeśvara *yātra* is one of the

1) See A. Vergati–Stahl, "Taleju, sovereign deity of Bhaktapur", in *Asie du Sud, traditions et changements* (Colloques internationaux du CNRS), Nanterre 1979, 163–167; G. Toffin, "Les aspects réligieux de la royauté newar au Népal", in *Archives de sciences sociales des réligions*, 48 (1979), 63–64; M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 316*a*–320*a*.

2) M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 67*b*.

3) A. W. Macdonald and A. Vergati–Stahl, *Newar Art*, Warminster 1979, 103*n*.

4) See G. Unbescheid, *Kānphaṭā: Untersuchungen zu Kult, Mythologie und Geschichte śivaitischer Tantriker in Nepal*, Wiesbaden 1980.

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most popular festivals of Nepal; the old kings always took part in it [1].

While Śaivism maintained throughout its official position, in the late 14th century there was an upsurge of Vaiṣṇavism, which was also very popular in the country. The Karṇāṭa–Malla dynasty showed its respect to the Viṣṇu cult by adopting a standardized pattern of bye–names (*biruda*): Jayasthitimalla took the surname Asura–Nārāyana, Jayadharmamalla was known as Vīra–Nārāyaṇa, Jayajyotirmalla as Daitya–Nārāyaṇa, Jayayakṣamalla as Lakṣmī–Nārāyaṇa. But the distinction between family and state creed was evidenced by the fact that during this very period the official protocol at the head of the documents was consolidated in the typically Śaiva formula *Paśupati–caraṇa–kamala–sevita Māneśvarīṣṭadevatā–vara–labdha–prasādita* (or similar texts), which was employed till the end of the Malla kingdoms.

Apart from these sectarian distinctions, we are justified in assuming that the troubled 14th century witnessed a rising general aspiration to a reform intended to bring Nepalese society in line with the theoretical rules laid down by the *dharmaśāstras*. According to some of the modern chronicles [2], the new regime founded by Jayasthitimalla took up this trend and initiated measures intended to tighten the social system of Hindu Nepal. He is reported to have enforced again the observance of the old, almost forgotten *dharma* rules, of which a compilation was made with the help of an advisory body of five Indian *paṇḍits* (Kīrtinātha Upādhyāya Kānyakubja, Rāghunātha Jhā Maithilī, Rāmanātha Jhā [Maithilī], Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa, Mahīnātha Bhaṭṭa) [3]. In this way he re–defined the status and duties of the castes, brought some order in the rather confuse social situation and re–organized the ruling classes and the common people according to a scheme that closely followed the orthodox rules, although it paid regard to at least some of the peculiarities of Newar society. Whether the account of Jayasthitimalla's alleged reformatory activity belongs in the realm of sober history is not quite certain, because we find almost no hint to it in the sources of the 14th–15th centuries. But

1) M. S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala*, 367*b*–379*a*.

2) The Buddhist chronicle of Wright and the *vaṃśāvalī* B² of Regmi; not so Padmagiri's *vaṃśāvalī* published by Hasrat.

3) Wright, 183.

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it is a fact that after the waxing of Maithilī influence in the lifetime of Jayasthitimalla there was a noticeable tightening–up of orthodox rules.

As to the details, the case is different. The list of castes supplied by the Buddhist chronicle [1] is a confused hotch–potch of castes, sub–castes, occupational groups, official ranks (*mantrin*, *saciva*, *amātya*) and even royal titles (*bhūpa*, *rāja*, *narendra*) and names of peoples external to Newar society, like the Kirāta. In vain S. Lévi (and myself in 1958) tried to bring some order and rationality in this ill–assorted bazaar; the devastating criticism by D. R. Regmi is largely justified [2]. The picture presented by his *vaṃśāvalī* B2 is perhaps less distorted. But it seems a profitless exercise to try and reconstruct the real content and scope of Jayasthitimalla's reform starting from such an unsatisfactory basis. Of course we could take into consideration the caste system as it exists today, and then extrapolate it in the past. There is something to be said in favour of this method (which was followed e.g. by D. R. Regmi), considering the great stability of the castal order all over the Indian subcontinent. Still, it would be impossible to individuate any modification that happened between Jayasthitimalla's and our own time; and above all it is impossible to check the results from trustworthy medieval sources. Thus I refrain from making the attempt.

1) Wright, 185–186; re–arranged and commented upon by S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, 232–236.

2) Regmi, I, 641–686.

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APPENDIX I

THE SUCCESSORS OF NĀNYADEVA

Nānyadeva's descendants continued to rule in Tirhut. According to Vidyāpati's *Puruṣaparikṣā*, his son Malladeva lived at the court of Jayacandra (1170–1193), the Gahaḍavāla king of Kanauj. He may have been a historical person, because an image of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa at Bhit–Bhagvanpur in Darbhanga district bears the (unpublished) inscription *Oṃ śrī–Malladevasya* [1]. R. K. Choudhary suggested that Nānyadeva's dominions were partitioned after his death, with Gaṅgadeva ruling in Tirhut proper and Malladeva in Nepal and a portion of Eastern Tirhut [2]; but there is no trace of Malladeva in Nepalese tradition, chronicles, colophons and inscriptions. Besides, Vidyāpati's chronological set–up is contradictory; Malladeva cannot be at the same time the son of Nānyadeva (1097–1145) and have lived in the times of Jayacandra (1170–1193). Either the one or the other item of information is incorrect; it seems impossible to choose between the two alternatives.

The list of Nānyadeva's actual successors is found in the following texts:

1) A traditional verse found with substantial variants in VK and in K. P. Jayaswal's introduction to the *Rājanītiratnākara*, in *JBORS*, 10 (1924).

2) Pratāpa Malla's inscription of 1649 (*Ind. Ant.*, 10, 188).

3) The drama *Mudita–Kuvalayāśva* (see back p. 55 n.).

4) The lists of F. Hamilton, *An account of the kingdom of Nepaul*, Edinburgh 1819.

1) R. K. Choudhary, *The Karṇāts of Mithilā*, in *ABORI* 35 (1955), 98.

2) R. K. Choudhary, *Op. cit.*, 100. Same author, "The later Karṇāṭas of Mithilā and Nepal", in *JBRS*, 46 (1960), 16–18.

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5) All the modern *vaṃśavalīs*.

6) Mithilā traditions, as recorded by Rashbehari Das, Parameshvar Jha and J. K. Misra [1].

According to all these sources, Nānyadeva's son was Gaṅgadeva or Gāṅgadeva. He is probably identical with the king Gāṅgeyadeva mentioned in the following document:

Ms. *Rāmāyana* (partial), National Archives, I.1079. Colophon [2]: *Samvat 1076 Āṣāḍha badi 4 M.–puṇyavaloka–somavaṃśodbhava–garuḍadhvaja–śrīmad–Gāṅgeyadeva–bhujyamāna–Tīrabhuktau kalyāṇa–vijayarājye Nepāladeśiya–śrī–bhāṇḍaśālika–śrī–Ānandasya kṛte Pāṭakāvasthita–(Kāyastha*, added by a later hand)*–paṇḍita–śrī–Śrīkurasyātmaja–śrī–Gopatinā lekhīdaṃ* ||

Bendall referred the year 1076 to the Vikrama era (A.D. 1019) and identified the king with the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva. But Lévi [3] showed the impossibility of this interpetration. Afterwards Majumdar proposed to refer the date to the Śaka era (June 1st, 1154) and to identify the king with Nānyadeva's son Gāṅgeyadeva [4]. Mirashi discussed the whole question afresh, passing in review the precedent theories; he accepted the date in Vikrama Samvat and suggested the existence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty in Tirhut in that period [5]. The problem has been repeatedly discussed by R. K. Choudhary; in some of his articles he is non–committal [6], while in others he definitely supports Majumdar, without however, contributing any fresh element to the problem [7].

In my opinion too, Mirashi's objections to Majumdar's theory are not decisive. The strongest is that Gāṅgeyadeva of the colophon belongs to the lunar race, while Nānyadeva and Gaṅgadeva are sta-

1) Quoted by R. K. Choudhary, *The Karṇāts of Mithilā*, 93.

2) First published by Bendall, *History*, p. 18. Reading corrected by V. V. Mirashi, *Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti*, in *ABORI*, 23 (1942), 293, and by Lokesh, *Bhālusālikā or Bhāṇḍaśālika?*, in *ABORI* 26 (1945), 298.

3) *Le Népal*, II, 202.

4) R. C. Majumdar, *King Nānyadeva of Mithilā*, in *IHQ*, 7 (1931), 681.

5) V. V. Mirashi, *Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti*, in *ABORI*, 22 (1942), 291–301.

6) R. K. Choudhary, *Political history of Mithilā*, in *JIH*, 32 (1954), 136. Same position in C. P. N. Sinha, *Mithila under the Karnatas*, 57–59.

7) R. K. Choudhary, "The Karṇāṭs of Mithilā", 102–106; "Some important literary colophons and their bearings on the history and chronology of Mithilā", in *JIH*, 34 (1956), 323; "Gāṅgeyadeva of Tirabhukti", in *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, 14 (1956/7), 93–100.

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ted to be Sūryavaṃśī by the Pratāpa Malla inscription of 1649. But no record of the Karṇāṭa dynasty says anything on this score, and the inscription is too late to be authoritative. On the whole, we may accept that Gāṅgeyadeva is the same person as Gaṅgadeva and that he lived in Śāka 1076, i.e. 1154 A.D.

As to his capital Pāṭaka, it is usually identified with Simraongarh on the assumption that the later town *could* have been called Simarāvana–paṭṭana. But Pāṭaka, mentioned also in later documents, could as well correspond to the modern Patahi or to Pataura, both in Champaran district [1].

Gaṅgadeva was not the only son of Nānyadeva. According to an entry in the old Nepalese chronicle, on September 5th, 1132, " śrī–Arjunadeva, son of the Ḍoya (= Tirhutia) Nānedeva, was born " [2]. No other reference on him is forthcoming.

Gaṅgadeva was followed by Narasiṃha or Nṛsiṃha, who was the first Tirhut ruler to be confronted with the Muslim menace [3]. He was followed by Rāmasiṃha, well known for his patronage of Sanskrit literature. Information on this king is less sketchy than usual. We know his birth–date: on March 8th, 1183, " Rāmasiṃha, the son of Narasiṃha, was born; [he was] king of Ḍoya (Tirhut) " [4]. In 1236 he was visited by C'ag Lotsawa C'os–rje–dpal in his capital Pa–ta, clearly the same as Pāṭaka of Gāṅgeyadeva's colophon [5]. On May 24th, 1244, king Rāmasiṃha invaded Nepal at the head of the Ḍoya army, but was compelled to retreat [6]. In between these two events he had to deal with the Muslim menace; he was apparently the unnamed Tirhut Raja who was defeated and made prisoner by Tughril Tughan, the Muslim governor of Bihar (1236–1245), to be then

1) The doubts voiced by H. N. Ansari, " Historical geography of Bihar on the eve of the early Turkish invasion ", in *JBRS*, 49 (1963), 255 n. 2, seem excessive.

2) *352* (sic for 252) *bhādrapada kṛṣṇa 9 Ḍoya Nānedevas putra jāto śrī–Arjunadeva*; V², 34*b*.

3) See R. K. Choudhary, " Early Muslim Invasion of Mithila ", in *JIH*, 40 (1962), 380–383.

4) *Samvat 303 Caitra śukla 13 śrī–Narasiṃhadevasya putra śrī–Rāmasiṃhadevas jāta*; *Ḍo Thākura*; V², 35*a*.

5) G. Roerich (ed.), *The biography of Dharmasvāmin*, 58–59, 99–100.

6) V³, 36*b*; see above, p. 86.

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reinstated by king Ala ud–dīn Mas'ūd of Delhi (1242–1246) [1]. But our information from Muslim sources in very uncertain.

To these reliable items of evidence we may add a highly suspect one supplied by a *vaṃśāvalī* in Sanskrit verse, of which a photo is in possession of Professor G. Tucci (VT). It gives the list of the Karṇāṭas (in their supposed capacity as rulers of Nepal) as in the modern chronicles down to Rāmasiṃha, but stops with him. Then it relates how Rāmasiṃha was dethroned by Mukundasena, a king of Palpa in Western Nepal, who invaded and looted the valley, but incurred thereby the wrath of Paśupati; his army was destroyed by a pestilence and he himself died on the flight [2]. Mukundasena is thus dated in the chronicle: *Dvi–rāma–śunyendu 1032 suśāke mahīdhra–ṣaṭ–rudra mite 1167 samvat | somendu–cakṣur–yuga 4211 māna varṣe kale tadābhun–nṛpatir–Mukundaḥ* [2]. These dates would correspond to 1110 A.D.; but this is impossible, because they would fall in the time of Nānyadeva and not of his great–grandson.

The invasion of Mukundasena is a sort of wreath that spooks through centuries of Nepalese history. As we have seen (see back p. 91), a *vaṃśāvalī* utilized by D. R. Regmi places his invasion in 1258. A better substantiated claim, based on a manuscript of the *Nāradasmṛti*, has been discussed recently, and it appears that Mukundasena's raid happened, if ever, in NS 646 Caitra *śukla* 7 *maṅgala* (verified for Tuesday, March 20th, 1526) [3]. The fact is not confirmed from any other source in the Valley itself and its historicity is still subject to doubt. In any case, it cannot be connected with the Mithilā kings of the 13th century.

The succession of Rāmasiṃha is not clear. The traditions oscillate between Śakrasiṃha (Mithilā tradition), Śaktisiṃha (Hamilton, the Kathmandu inscription of Pratāpa Malla), Bhavasiṃha (VK and *Mudita–Kuvalayāśva*). The documents tell another tale.

[1] R. K. Choudhary, "Early Muslim invasion of Mithilā", 385–386.

[2] The same story is told in Wright, 170–172, where the event is referred to the times of Harisiṃha.

[3] Nayaraj Pant and Dineshraj Pant, "Nepāl–khāḷḍoṃ mā Pālpālī Rājā Mukund Sen ko hamalā–sambandhī din kā gaṇanā", in *Pūrṇimā* 42 (2036 VS), 67–102; Maheshraj Pant and Dineshraj Pant, "Nepāl–khāldoṃ mā Pālpālī Rājā Mukund Sen ko hamalā", in *Pūrṇimā* 45 (2037 VS), 1–24, and 46 (2337 VS), 19–52.

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Ms. *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā*, Ṅor monastery in Tibet. Colophon [1]: *Lakṣmaṇadeva–ṣaṭpañcāśatābdiya rājye..... 56 śrīmad–Vīrasiṃhadevas–tanyamānāyāṃ Tirabhuktau Śālmalīpāṭake sthitvā likhitam–idaṃ chātra–śrī–śubhaṅkadāśena .... mārga śudi 14* etc. Śālmalīpāṭaka is the same as Pāṭaka in the colophon of Gāṅgeyadeva (see above). The date belongs to the same type as those of Aśokacalla of the two Bodh Gaya inscriptions [2] and must be understood "after the rule of Lakṣmaṇasena had ceased" (*abdīya* for *atīta*). It seems therefore to correspond to November 18th, 1260.

Vīrasiṃha is completely unknown to tradition. Perhaps we may attribute to this king a gold coin found in the Gorakhpur district, bearing the legend *śrīmad–Vīrasiṃharāya* [3]; but this is highly hypothetical.

Eleven years later another king reigned in the same place.

Ms. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, National Archives, V.? Colophon [4]: *R.–Gaṇa–Lakṣmaṇasenadevasya samvat 67 mārga badi 5 ravau Pb. etyādi rājāvali pūrvat śrimad–Rāmasiṃhadeva–bhujyamāne Tirabhuktau Śālmalivanapāṭake likhitā* etc. The date seems to be Sunday, November 22nd, 1271.

The colophon employs more or less the same terms as the preceeding one and clearly belongs to the same royal family; Rāmasiṃha (II) was in all likelihood the successor of Vīrasiṃha.

After Rāmasiṃha II we may place Śakrasiṃha/Śaktisiṃha, who according to the Mithilā tradition and to Mulla Taqiya was contemporary with and fought against Ala ud–din Khaljī, was defeated (1297/8), became his vassal or ally and participated in the conquest of Rantambhor in Rajasthan [5].

Harisiṃha was Śakrasiṃha's son, or at least his successor. We must discard the names supplied by the later Nepalese tradition: Bhūpālasiṃha (Hamilton, the Pratāpa Malla inscription, modern *vaṃśāvalīs*; also K. P. Jayaswal's verse) and Karmasiṃha (VK, *Mudita–Kuvalayāśva*). They are unknown to the Mithilā tradition.

The chronology of the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Tirhut is highly un-

1) Published in RS, XXI, 37.

2) See L. Petech, "Ya–ts'e, Gu–ge, Pu–raṅ: a new study", in *CAJ* 24 (1980), 91–92.

3) First published by V. Smith, "Numismatic notes and novelties", in *JASB*, 66 (1897), 308, and then studied by V. V. Mirashi, "Some old coins re–discussed", in *IHQ*, 18 (1942), 71–72, who attributes this coin to king Vīrasiṃha of the Kachapaghāta dynasty of Nalapura, who lived around 1120.

4) Published by Regmi, I, 269.

5) R. K. Choudhary, "Early Muslim invasion in Mithila", 388–390.

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certain. With all reserve, I would suggest the following table, in which the dates are only tentative and approximate.

Nānyadeva	c. 1097–1145
Gaṅgadeva	c. 1145–1175
Narasiṃha	c. 1175–1205
Rāmasiṃha	c. 1205–1245 [1]
Vīrasiṃha	c. 1245–1265
Rāmasiṃha	c. 1265–1285
Śakrasiṃha	c. 1285–1305
Harisiṃha	c. 1305–1326 [2]

1) Rāmasiṃha enjoyed a very long reign according to all traditions: 58, 86, 92, 62 years; R. K. Choudhary, "The Karṇāṭs of Mithilā", 93. But the regnal years 1227–1285 proposed by R. K. Choudhary and accepted by R. C. Majumdar and C. P. N. Sinha are of course impossible, knowing as we do that he was born in 1183.

2) Harisiṃha earliest date is given by a ms. *Bhaṭṭikāvyaṭīkā*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, n. 4795. Colophon (published in *CSMASB*, VII, 66 n. 5067): *Śrīmaddharasiṃhadeva-rājye LaSaṃ 159 Phālguṇa badi 1 śanau Herambāya namaḥ*. In the early period the starting point of the Lakṣmaṇasena era (not of the *Lakṣmaṇasena-atītarājye*) was 1120 A.D. The *tithi* would end on March 1st, 1279, which day, however, was a Wednesday and not a Saturday. Besides the date would be much too early for Harisiṃha. So either this is one of the many vagaries of the Lakṣmaṇasena era, or (if we take the date as *atītarājye*) this was another Harisimha who reigned in c. 1363 A.D., not in Tirhut, but in some adjoining district.

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APPENDIX II

CHINA AND THE NEPALESE RULERS

It is necessary to discuss the relations between China and Nepal at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, and the political situation underlying them. Some glimpses of them we had already during our reconstruction of the role played by the Rāma family.

The beginning of China's intercourse with Nepal [1] was due to the initiative of the imperial government, which was not in that period an exceptional move. The chapter on Nepal in the official history of the Ming dynasty, published in 1739, describes it as follows.

> In the 17th year of the Hung-wu period (1384) the emperor T'ai-tsu ordered the monk Chih-kuang 智先 [2] to carry [to Nepal] a letter with the imperial seal and some pieces of coloured silk, and to go at the same time to the kingdom of Ti-yung-t'a 地湧塔 [3], which borders with it. Chih-kuang, with his knowledge of the Buddhist texts, showed ta-

1) For a long time the only texts known in Western translations were those from the chapter on Nepal in the *Ming-shih*; they had been translated by C. Imbault-Huart, *Histoire de la conquête du Népal*, in *J.As.*, 1878, 2, p. 357*n*; and by E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic sources*, London s. d., II, pp. 222-223. The rest is translated here for the first time. Let me remark that there seems to be no mention of Nepal in a text where we would expect it, in the "Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty", *Ta Ming hui-tien* 大明會典.

2) This monk Chih-kuang is rather a well-known figure. He was one of the tools in the clever policy of the early Ming emperors, which enabled them by sheer diplomacy and without the use of force to maintain a sort of moral suzerainty over the various Tibetan sects. Most important was his mission of 1403 to the Karma-pa abbots. Later he was sent also to the P'ag-mo-gru-pa. See the various texts of the *Ming-shih* translated by G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, pp. 682 and 689.

3) I have no suggestion to offer about the phonetical equivalence of Ti-yung-t'a. For its geographical identification see later, p. 222.

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lent and descrimination and made manifest the virtuous thought of the Son of Heaven. Its king Ma-ta-na Lo-mo 馬達納羅摩 [then] sent ambassadors to court, to bring as tribute golden *stūpas*, Buddhist texts, famous horses and other local produce. In the 20th year (1387–8) they arrived at Court. The Emperor was pleased and granted [to the king] a silver seal, a signet of jade, letters patent, a control document in two parts [*fu-yen* 符驗] [1], and pennants and coloured silk [2].

Now let us go back from the standard dynastic history to the contemporary documents, as preserved in the "Veritable Records" (*Shih-lu* 實錄) of the Ming dynasty [3]. There the above event is mentioned in a few words:

[Hung-wu, 17th year, 2nd month, day *chi-ssŭ* (= February 22nd, 1384)]. The monk Chih-kuang and others were sent to the kingdom of Hsi-t'ien Ni-pa-lo (Nepal of India) [4].

The same source registers the reciprocating embassy sent by the Nepalese king:

[Hung-wu, 20th year, 12th month, day *keng-wu* (= February 2nd, 1388)] The king of Nepal (Ni-pa-la 尼八剌) in the Western countries, Ma-ta-na Lo [囉]-mo, and the two indigenous chiefs (*tu-tu-hui* 都賢揮) of dBus-gTsaṅ (Wu-szŭ-tsang 烏思藏; Central Tibet) and of mDo-K'ams (To-kan 朶甘; North-Eastern Tibet) had sent envoys... They arrived at court and offered to the emperor produce of the country, such as horses, steel swords and various kinds of golden *stūpas* and Buddhist texts. The monk Chih-kuang and others came as messengers from the kingdom of Nepal and offered eight horses [5].

These presents were acknowledged with the usual return gifts to

1) On this sort of documents see R. Des Rotours, "Les insignes en deux parties (*fou*) sous la dynastie des T'ang" in *T'oung Pao*, 41 (1952), pp. 1–148.

2) *Ming-shih*, Po-na-pên edition, ch. 331, f. 16*a*.

3) I have used the good Taiwan reprint.

4) *Ta Ming Shih-lu*, Hung-wu, 159.5*b*.

5) *Ta Ming Shih-lu*, Hung-wu, 187.6*a*.

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the chiefs of Nepal and dBus–gTsaṅ, under the date of Hung–wu, 21st year, 1st month, *chi–hai*, i.e. March 2nd, 1388 [1].

The exchange of civilities was repeated three years later. Under the date of Hung–wu, 23rd year, 12th month, day *keng–ch'en* (= January 27th, 1391), the "Veritable Records" register, among the arrival of missions from many other states for the New Year imperial audience, also the envoys of Nepal [2]. This is the only mission about which we find a vague reference in the Nepalese sources. According to the *Sumatisiddhānta–ṭīkā* (Kaisher Library, n. 82), there was an eclipse in 510 Āśvini *kṛṣṇa amavāsya* (= Sunday, October 9th, 1390). "On this day the Śākya (Sa–skya) and the Chinese made connection [with Nepal]; on the occasion of this eclipse the *jeta* of Palamchok laid the foundation of the *mahāvihāra*".

Some details on this mission are given under another date:

> [Hung–wu, 24th year, 1st month, *chi–ch'ou* (= February 5th, 1391; New Year's day)] Cha–ch'ê–pa–lu 扎撒巴魯 [3] and others, fourteen messengers in all from the king of Nepal in the Western Countries and of the *kuan–ting kuo–shih* 灌頂國師 [4] in dBus–gTsaṅ, were granted a piece of printed silk and a silken robe each, and documents to every one of them. A further imperial mandate was issued by which the king of Nepal in the Western countries Ma–ta–na Lo–mo and the others were granted six pieces each. Again, the Ministry of Rites was commanded to grant to Ma–ta–na Lo–mo and the others, in addition, a private jade seal and an umbrella of red gauze each [5].

The dynastic history summarizes the above in a few words [6].

1) *Ta Ming Shih–lu*, Hung–wu, 188.3*a–b*.

2) *Ta Ming Shih–lu*, Hung–wu, 206.4*b*.

3) 撒 *sa* should be corrected into 撒 *ch'ê*. The last two syllables may transcribe the Nepalese title *bhāro*.

4) "The master of the State who has received the initiatic baptism"; a title first granted by Qubilai to 'P'ags–pa, and later by the Ming emperors to several Tibetan abbots. See G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 680.

5) *Ta Ming Shih–lu*, Hung–wu, 207, 1*a*.

6) *Ming–shih*, ch. 331, f. 16*a*. The same text, only somewhat abridged, is given in a later work, the (*Ch'ing–ting*) *Hsü Wên–hsien–t'ung–k'ao*, of 1747. Here the name of the ruler is given as Ma–t'ê–na–k'o–lo Lê–mo 瑪特納克囉勒摩; Shih–t'ung edition of the Commercial Press, ch. 248, p. 4828*b–c*. This form might go

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Ma–ta–na Lo–mo quite evidently transcribes the name Madana Rāma [1]. It appears, therefore, that the Chinese recognized as legitimate ruler of Nepal the minister (*amātya*) Madana Rāma, the younger brother of Jayasiṃha Rāma. On both the brothers we have had occasion to discuss at length above (pp. 151–157).

The intercourse was kept up in the following years. The text of the *Ming–shih* quoted above says that

> During the latter part of the Hung–wu period there came only one ambassador for several years.

The date of this single embassy was Hung–wu, 30th year, 1st month, *hsin–wei*, i.e. February 15th, 1397 [2]. On this occasion the Ming government laid down that the tribute embassies from Nepal should come to court every third year (3rd month, *kuei–hai* = April 8th) [3].

No intercourse took place during the short and stormy reign of the second Ming sovereign. But one of the first actions of the Yung–lo emperor (1402–1424), on Hung–wu 35th year, 8th month, *wu–wu* (= September 4th, 1402), was to send once more Chih–kuang to Tibet and Nepal to carry the presents of the new Son of Heaven [4].

The dynastic history records this mission without giving a definite date. It then adds:

> In the 7th year of Yung–lo, [Nepal] sent an envoy to bring tribute [5].

As usual, the "Veritable Records" register this Nepalese embassy in greater detail:

> [Yung–lo, 7th year, 12th month, *hsin–hai* (= January 18th, 1410)] the *kuo–shih* Don–grub–rgyal–mts'an (Tuan–chu–chien–tsang 端竹監藏) of 'Bri–guṅ (Pi–li–kung 必力工) in

back to a Sanskrit Madanākara Rāma; but more probably it is a freak of the revisors of the Ch'ien–lung period, for which there are many other instances. The *Hsü T'ung–tien* of 1767 has Ma–t'a (塔)–na Lo–mo; same edition, ch. 148, p. 2000*c*.

1) But the Chinese, whose language has no *r* and renders it with *l*, were apparently under the impression that the Nepalese ruler was a Lama (Tib. *bla–ma*), a title well known to them from their dealings with the Tibetan hierarchy.

2) *Ta Ming Shih–lu*, Hung–wu, 249.3*a–b*. Cf. *Ming–shih*, 3.15*a*.

3) *Ta Ming Shih–lu*, Hung–wu, 251.1*b*.

4) *Ta Ming Shih–lu*, Yung–lo, 11.2*a*.

5) *Ming–shih*, 331.16*a*.

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dBus-gTsaṅ, as well as [the ruler of] Nepal, sent as their ambassador bSod-nams-rgyal-mts'an (So-nan-chieh-tsan 銷南監藏) and others to offer horses as tribute; they were given [presents of] printed silk for each of them [1].

It appears from this document that sometimes the Nepalese ruler sent his presents through the envoys despatched by the 'Bri-guṅ-pa abbots. The name of the king is not given on this occasion, but it is likely that he was already the one mentioned in the following document.

[Yung-lo, 11th year, 2nd month, day *chi-wei* (= March 11th, 1413)] The emperor sent the chief eunuch (*t'ai-chien* 太監) Hou-hsien 候顯 [2], to present Sha-ti-hsin-ko 沙的新葛, king of Nepal, and K'o-pan 可般, king of Ti-yung-t'a, with brocade and thin silk. The eunuch (*chung-kuan* 中官) Yang San-pao 楊三保 [3], was sent to dBus-gTsaṅ and other places, to stay there and return [4].

The dynastic history of the Ming tells the same tale, but with a small difference:

1) *Ta Ming Shih-lu*, Yung-lo, 99.1*b*. On the 'Bri-guṅ-pa abbots in general and on this mission in particular see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 630–631, 689.

2) Hou-hsien's biography is found in the *Ming-shih*, 304, 4*b*–5*b*. He first went to Tibet with Chih-kuang in 1403. Afterwards he was sent to 'Bri-guṅ, and in 1427 again to the P'ag-mo-gru-pa rulers of Central Tibet and to Nepal. See the texts translated by Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 682, 689, 693. His other field of activity lay on the shores of Southern Asia. He accompanied the admiral Chêng Ho in some of his famous voyages, and in 1415 he himself was placed in charge of a Chinese embassy to Bengal. P. Pelliot, «Les grands voyages maritimes chinois», in *T'oung Pao*, 30 (1933), 314–329; J. J. L. Duyvendak, «The true dates of the Chinese maritime expeditions» in *T'oung Pao*, 34 (1938), 303–304.

3) Yang San-pao was one of the eunuchs whom the Ming emperors often employed in delicate missions abroad. He was repeatedly sent to Tibet to carry presents to the Sa-skya-pa abbots and rulers, and was despatched on the same errand also to the 'Bri-guṅ-pa. About 1411 he was in Central Tibet, whence he came back in 1413, only to be sent out again on this mission. He went to Tibet once more in 1419. See the several texts of the *Ming-shih* translated by Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 686, 689, 693. Yang San-pao seems to be otherwise unknown, and therefore P. Pelliot (*T'oung Pao*, 31, 311–312) suggested that this might be a surname of Yang Ch'ing. Later on (*T'oung Pao*, 32, 214) he inclined rather to take it as a surname of Yang Min. Both these eunuchs played a certain role in the maritime voyages of that period.

4) *Ta Ming Shih-lu*, Yung-lo, 137, 3*a*.

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> In the 11th year the emperor ordered Yang San–pao to carry an imperial letter, silver and silk, to be bestowed on the new king Sha–ko–hsin–ti [1] and to K'o–pan, king of Ti–yung–t'a [2].

The Ming history has shortened the text, giving therefore the wrong impression that Yang San–pao was sent to both Central Tibet and Nepal; and this is how Lévi understood it. The text of the "Veritable Records", being contemporary, is decisive: Hou–hsien was sent to Nepal and Yang San–pao to Tibet. Besides, the above–cited biography of Hou–hsien [3] supports the version of the *Shih–lu*, which may be taken now as well established.

This mission of goodwill was reciprocated at once. The "Veritable Records" say that

> [Yung–lo, 12th year, 8th month, day *i–mao* (= August 29th, 1414)] Sha–ti–hsin–ko of Nepal sent ambassadors to bring tribute. Sha–ti–hsin–ko was appointed king of Nepal and was granted a seal of gilt silver and a patent [4].

The "basic annals" (*pen–chi*), the biography of Hou–hsien and the chapter on Nepal in the Ming history all record in about the same words the appointment and give the same name of the king [5]:

According to the age–old practice of Chinese intercourse with foreign countries, the grant of the royal title simply meant that the emperor officialy took notice of the foreign ruler's succession to the throne and recognized him as the legitimate sovereign of his country. The text of this edict is not reproduced in the Chinese sources; but by an incredible stroke of luck a translation in bad Sanskrit has come down to us [6]. The edict, couched in the usual stereotyped form of

1) Sha–ko–hsin–ti is of course but a mistake for Sha–ti–hsin–ko, due to the inversion of the 2nd and 4th characters. This incorrect form was the only one current among Western scholars, until (and even after) Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 30, 314–315, pointed out the correct one.

2) *Ming–shih*, 331.16*a–b*.

3) *Ming–shih*, 304.5*a*.

4) *Ta Ming Shih–lu*, Yung–lo, 154.2*a*.

5) *Ming–shih*, 7.2*a*, 304.5*a*, 331.16*b*.

6) Formerly in the Nepalese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, now in the National Archives. Published by Dh. Bajracharya "Cīnkā Miṅ–vaṃśī bādśāh le Śaktisiṃharāma lā'ī naṭhāeko parvānā", in *Voice of History* (*Journal of the Dept. of History of the University*), I (2031 VS), 25–28.

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such documents, begins with a long praise of the majesty, virtue and might of the emperor. Then it addresses itself to Śaktisiṃha Rāya, "who dwells at Palamchok of Nepal in Āryavarta of the Western Countries" (1.9: *Śaktisiṃharāyaḥ paścimadiśavilavidāryavartta Nepāla Pallakhaco-nagare sthitaḥ*), praising him for his submission to the imperial orders and for the mild and compassionate ways of his rule. Therefore the Imperial Majesty grants him the title of *wang* (king) and bestows on him some gifts. The name of the bearer of the edict is given (1.20) as Tiṅ Tāsi Rijinaḥ. The document ends with the date *mahācīnābda 535 Āṣāḍah-śukla-daśamyāṃ likhitam-iti* (= June 16th, 1415).

The name of the imperial messenger is not Chinese but Tibetan: Tiṅ (?) bKra-śis-rig-'dzin. It appears that the Chinese official deputed by the emperor had preferred not to complete his long and arduous journey and had remained in Tibet, entrusting a Tibetan (apparently a Lama) with the task of carrying document and gifts to Śaktisiṃha. As to the date, the words "Chinese year" (*mahācīnābda*) should be followed by the transcription of the Chinese date: Yung-lo 14th year, 5th month, *jen-tzŭ*. This was apparently too much for the translator, who preferred to give outright the Nepalese equivalent.

The intimate relations between China and Nepal continued in the following years. The "Veritable Records", the "basic annals" and the chapter on Nepal in the Ming history under the date of 1418 give the same piece of information in the same words:

> The king of Nepal Sha-ti-hsin-ko sent envoys to offer produce of the country as tribute [1].

Then the "Veritable Records" alone go on to relate that

> [Yung-lo, 16th year, 8th month, day *mou-yin* (= August 31st, 1418)] the emperor sent the eunuch Têng-ch'êng 鄧誠 [2] with an imperial order to carry to the king of Nepal silk thread and open silk. He travelled together with the returning Nepa-

1) *Ta Ming Shih-lu*, Yung-lo, 203, 1*a*. *Ming-shih*, 7.3*b*; 331.16*b*.

2) I dit not succed in finding any biographical material about Têng-ch'êng. Nor did W. Franke, «Zur Lage der vier Sari-Uigurischen Militärdistrikte An-ting, A-tuan, Ch'ü-hsien und Han-tung in der frühen Ming-Zeit», in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kenkyusyo, Kyoto University*, Kyoto 1954, pp. 121-129.

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lese tribute-bearers, and all the countries through which they passed, viz. Han-tung 罕東, Ling-tsang 靈藏, Pi-li-kung-wa 必力工瓦, Wu-szŭ-tsang 烏思藏, Yeh-lan 野藍 [1], K'o-pan 可般, Pu-na 卜納, etc., had gifts bestowed on them [2].

The Chapter on Nepal in the Ming history refers to Têng-ch'êng's mission in the same words, the only difference being that K'o-pan is omitted from the list [3]. The *Hsü Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* has some different spellings: Pa-lê-kun-ko 巴勒袞噶 for Pi-li-kung-wa, Ya-erh-la 雅爾喇 for Yeh-lan, Pu-nai 卜鼐 for Pu-na [4]; it omits K'o-pan. These places may be identified as follows. Han-tung was a frontier fortress to the South-East of Tun-huang in Western Kansu; it was abandoned in the 16th century, when the Mongols occupied that region [5]. Ling-tsang is the Tibetan Gliṅ-ts'aṅ, i.e. the principality of Gliṅ, south-east of sKyer-dgu-mdo (Jyekundo) on the uppermost reaches of the Yangtzechiang. Its ruler was a monk, the succession being from uncle to nephew. The Ming dynasty gave him the title Tsan-shan-wang [6]. Pi-li-kung-wa are the 'Bri-guṅ-pa abbots, and Pa-lê-kun-ko is 'Bri-guṅ, north-east of Lhasa. Yeh-lan or Ya-êrh-la is Yala (or Ëla), the Newari name of Patan [7]. K'o-pan is Khopva, the Newari name of Bhatgaon [8]. Pu-na or Pu-nai may perhaps transcribe Pūrṇa[matī], the Sanskrit name of modern Panaoti.

It is at any rate certain that the Chinese envoys travelled from the Western frontier of Kansu to Central Tibet and thence to Patan.

1) The Nanking edition has wrongly Yeh-chien (監).

2) *Ta Ming Shih-lu*, Yung-lo, 203.1*a*.

3) *Ming-shih*, 331.16*b*.

4) *Hsü Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, ch. 248, p. 4828*c*. The *Hsü T'ung-tien*, ch. 148, p. 2004*c*, has the same spellings as the *Ta Ming Shih-lu*, with the exception of Pa-lê-kun-ko. Both these works of the 18th century omit K'o-pan.

5) *Ming-shih*, 330.25*b*–27*b*, translated in R. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II, pp. 218–219; *Ta Ming i-tung chih*, 89.17*a*. Cf. A. Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, Cambridge Mass., 1935, pp. 55 inset. W. Franke, *Op. cit.*

6) See R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*, 211–212.

7) The final nasal occurs also in the Tibetan transcription Ye-raṅ.

8) Both in earlier and later texts K'o-pan is wrongly taken for the name of the king of Ti-yung-t'a. See pp. 213 and 217. In this case too the final nasal occurs also in the Tibetan transcription K'o-bom. Apparently the Chinese envoys heard these names from their Tibetan interpreters.

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This means that they followed the old route via the Thung-la, Kuti (Tib. gÑa'-lam) and the Chautaria pass to Sankhu and Kathmandu. From Patan they went to Bhatgaon (K'o-pan), which was the capital of Ti-yung-t'a (the latter name is as yet unexplained). From there they may have gone to Banepa and to Palamchok, the residence of the chieftains whom the imperial government recognized as the legitimate kings of Nepal.

This intercourse drew to an end with a last exchange of missions. The "Veritable Documents" tell us that

> [Hsüan-te, 2nd year, 4th month, day *chia-tzŭ* (= May 2nd, 1427)]; the emperor had sent the chief eunuch Hou-hsien to dBus-gTsaṅ, Nepal and other countries... [Then follows an account of his journey through Tibet and how he was received there] The Tsan-shan wang 贊善王 Nan-ko-chien-tsang 喃葛監藏 [1]; the king of Nepal, Sha-ti-hsin-ko; the prince (*wang-tzŭ* 王子) of Ti-yung-t'a, K'o-pan; the Fu-chiao wang 輔教王 Nan-ko-lieh-szŭ-pa-lo-ko-lo-chien-tsang-pa-tsang-pu 喃葛列思巴羅葛囉監藏巴藏卜 [2], etc., every one of them was granted brocade velvet [3], hemp cloth and silk for each of them [4].

The chapter on Nepal in the Ming history summarized the above in the following terms:

> In the 2nd year [the emperor] again sent the eunuch Hou-hsien to bring some brocade velvet and silk stuffs to its (Nepal's) king; and the same to the king of Ti-yung-t'a. After this no tributary envoy arrived again [at court] [5].

1) Tsan-shan wang was the title granted in 1407 to the Tibetan abbot of Ling-tsang; Nan-ko-chien-tsang had succeeded to the see in 1425; *Ming-shih*, 331.12*b*. The name transcribes a Tibetan Nam-mk'a'-rgyal-mts'an. Cf. R. A. Stein, *Op. cit.*, 212.

2) The title Fu-chiao-wang was granted in 1413 to the abbot of sTag-ts'aṅ, head of the Dus-mc'od branch of the Sa-skya-pa sect. This identification was correctly established by H. Sato, "On the Eight Kings of the Law in Tibet during the Ming dynasty" (in Japanese), III, in *Tōyōshi kenkyū*, 22 (1963), chiefly 83-88. The first holder of the title, whose name is here perfectly transcribed into Chinese, was Nam-mk'a'-legs-pa-blo-gros-mts'an-dpal-bzaṅ-po (1399-1444).

3) On this term see P. Pelliot, in *T'oung Pao*, 30 (1933), 318.

4) *Ta Ming Shih-lu*, Hsüan-tê, 27.2*b*.

5) *Ming-shih*, 331.16*b*.

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And this was indeed the end of the relations between China and Nepal; they were resumed only after the Gorkha–Chinese war of 1793.

Sha–ti–hsin–ko transcribes the name of Śaktisiṃha Rāma, the son and successor of Madana Rāna. Of his position in Nepalese history we have spoken above. At the time of the last Chinese embassies this "king of Nepal" was a broken reed, clinging to his pretensions in his mountain lair of Palamchok, while the whole of Nepal recognized the sovereignty of Jayajyotirmalla.

Summing up the results of our enquiry, the position may be stated as follows. For the Chinese the Rāmas were the rulers of Nepal [1], and the princes (*wang–tzŭ*) of Ti–yung–t'a were their vassals. The name Ti–yung–t'a, which indicated the principality of Bhatgaon, remains unexplained; we can only point out that *t'a* is the Chines word for *stūpa*. The "prince" [2] of Ti–yung–t'a must have been Jayasthitimalla and his sons. Khopva, the Newari name for Bhatgaon, transcribed by the Chinese as K'o–pan, was sometimes taken for the name of the ruler of Ti–yung–t'a, and sometimes correctly understood as a town or its district.

Taking all elements into account, the only possible explanation is that after the demise of the last king of the Bhonta dynasty (1382) his minister Jayasiṃha Rāma, casting about for support to the claims of the crown of Bhonta, came into contact with some of the Tibetan ecclesiastical principalities which at the same time were receiving the attention of the first Ming emperor. Through Tibet the *mahātha* arranged a so–called "tributary" mission to China. Jayārjunadeva was no more, and the Chinese government would not accept the idea of a kingdom without a king. And thus Jayasiṃha Rāma, who was still fully occupied in his losing struggle in the Valley, pushed to the fore his younger brother Madana Rāma, who, as known from the docu-

1) This may help to explain the rather puzzling statement of the chapter on Nepal in the Ming history, that "all the rulers of Nepal are Buddhist monks (*sêng*)"; *Ming–shih*, ch. 331, f. 16*a*. Rāma was transcribed as Lo–mo; but Lo–mo stands also for the Tibetan word Lama (*bla–ma*). And the Chinese must have drawn the conclusion that Nepalese rulers were all of them Lamas, i.e. Buddhist monks.

2) *Wang–tzŭ* may be a translation of *yuvarāja*. Perhaps the Rāmas insisted in giving this lower title to the Karṇāṭa–Mallas, although Jayajyotirmalla had resumed the full royal style long before 1427.

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ments, was governing the Rāma family's dominion of Bhonta. Jayasiṃha Rāma presented him to the Chinese as the bearer of the rights of Bhonta, and therefore as the legitimate claimant to the throne of Nepal. It should be stressed that relations with China began in 1383–84, one or two years after the death of Jayārjunadeva; a connection between the events seems plausible.

For some reason, the Chinese government accepted the situation as it was presented to them by the Rāmas, without taking the trouble to ascertain the real position and the strength of the power of the Karṇāṭa–Malla house [1]. Things continued on this line even after Jayasiṃha's death and the collapse of the Bhonta positions, when Chinese relations with Śaktisiṃha, by then a mere local chieftain, had lost whatever meaning they possessed at the beginning. The exchange of embassies continued until Śaktisiṃha was unable or unwilling to continue it, and until the Hsüan–tê emperor (1425–1435) demobilised the ambitious but expensive diplomacy practised by Yung–lo. Still, the able policy of the Rāmas not only procured for them Chinese recognition as "kings of Nepal" as long as the intercourse lasted and until they lost all shreds of power; but it contributed also to their success with the Nepalese chroniclers of the 18th century, who, under the impression of the Gorkha–Chinese war of 1793, were dazzled with the importance of Imperial Chinese recognition.

And this is, I believe, the only way to explain the very real conflict, which so deeply embarrassed Lévi, between the modern *vaṃśāvalī* and Chinese texts on one side, and the colophons and inscriptions on the other. At least I can rest content with having reclaimed from oblivion the interesting figures of the two brothers Jayasiṃha Rāma and Madana Rāma, who played such an outstanding role in the history of Nepal.

1) That such a thing could happen is shown by a parallel case in exactly the same period. In 1370 the Hung–wu emperor sent a mission to prince Kanenaga, the loyalist commander–in–chief in Western Japan, supposing him to be the "king" of Japan. See G. Sansom, *History of Japan*, II, 167–168.

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APPENDIX III

THE KAISHER FRAGMENT OF "VAṂŚĀVALĪ"

(Kaisher Library, n. 171)

(*p. 1*) [1] [rājā śrī rudrade][2]va varṣa 26 || tena pvuna[r]bhoṭānta prayanta niṣkaṇṭakaṃ rāṣṭraṃ karoti || rājā śrī jayadeva varṣa 42 māsa 7 || rājā śrī baladeva varṣa 11 || rājā śrī bālārjunadeva varṣa 21 māsa 7 || bhrātṛbhāryyā saṃbhavatena hi durgabhaṭṭārakāya svamukuṭaṃ pradattaṃ || rājā śrī mānadeva varṣa 36 || tena bahulanādaṃtavanīmi pratiṣṭhitaṃ | rājā śrī rāghavadeva deva varṣa 63 māsa 6 [3] || śrī paśupatibhaṭṭārake samvatsarapravṛttiḥ kṛtā || rājā śrī śaṃkaradeva varṣa 18 māsa 6 || rājā śrī sahade(*p. 2*)va varṣa 33 māsa 9 || rājā śrī vikramadeva varṣa 1 || rājā śrī narendradeva varṣa 1 māsa 6 [4] || rājā śrī guṇakāmadeva varṣa 85 māsa 6 || tena paśupatibhaṭṭārakāya ekādaśakoṣam pradattaṃ tatraiva īśāneśvarasya vāsukībhaṭṭārakasya tāṃmraśaṃṣalī chādanaṃ kṛtya tatraiva dīrghacopātrikā kṛtya | suvarṇṇapanālī koṭihomaṃ kṛtaśceti || rājā śrī udayadeva varṣa 6 || rājā śrī nibhayadeva varṣa 5 || [rājā] śrī bhojadeva–rudradeva varṣa 9 māsa 7 | tena bhojadevena śrī (*p. 3*) [maṇḍapa vinā] [5]śitā || rājā śrī lakṣmīkāmadeva varṣa 21 | tena hi campa[ṭapaścāt sa][6]hite samvatsaranidhāne rāṣṭraṃ śāntikṛtya | rājā śrī [Jayadeva va][7]rṣa 20 | tena hi lalitapura arddharājyaṃ kṛtyaṃ varṣa 10 || rājā śrī bhāskaradeva jayadeva ubhayarājā varṣa 7 mā 4 | tena hi bhāskaradevena

1) The pages are unnumbered in the ms.
2) Reconstructed from VD.
3) Newari footnote in the ms.; samvat daya ku.
4) Reconstructed from VD.
5) Reconstructed from VD.
6) Reconstructed from VD. Newari note in the ms.: samvat daya kuna.
7) Reconstructed from VD.

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pitṛmāli vikṛtaṃ;[1] suvarṇṇamaya manaharabhaṭṭārakasya kāṃcana-nāśitā taddoṣeṇa aṃdhī bhavati || rājā śrī baladeva varsa 12 | tena hi atyantasubhikṣa karo[ti] te(*p. 4*)na vajarattha hahipūrakṛtaṃ || rājā śrī padmadeva varṣa 6 || tena hi mukuṭaṃ kṛtavān || rājā śrī nāgārjunadeva varṣa 3 || rājā śrī śaṃkaradeva varṣa 17 | tena hi nandīsālāyāṃ śaṃkeśvara–bhaṭṭā[rakā]ya pratiṣṭhitā devakulaṃ ca pūrṇṇaṃ kṛtya rāṣṭra śāntikā × × × × vihāraśca prārata bhagavatī manahara–bhaṭṭārakāya × × × × || rāja śrī vāmadeva varṣa 3 || rājā śrī harṣadeva varṣa 16 × × × × tiprati samvatsaradvaya pravarttamāna || rājā śrī śi(*p. 5*)[vadeva va]rṣa 27 māsa 7 | tena hi paśupati–bhaṭṭārakasya svavarṇṇa[2] śṛṃ[khalī] chādanaṃ kṛta | tataḥ kīrtti bhagatagrāme baladanī prabaṃdhā × × to panālikā kūpa puskaraṇī sakala–janānandakṛta caturbhūmīkaṃ paṃcapūrasarasa;[3] yuktaṃ 1 śrīmat rājagṛha;[3] suniṣāditaṃ | śrīmat–paśupati–bhaṭṭārakasya rajatapadma punar ghaṭita pūrvvaṃ daṃmavyavahāranāsti suvarṇṇa–raktikāstavya sva–śrī–siṃhākṛtarūpaṃ daṃmakṛtavyavahāra suvarṇṇamayī śrī–[śi]vasyākṛti vi[4]vakāṅka–kṛ(*p. 6*)tya|pūrvvaśikharadevasya parivāra–sahitena jīrṇṇo dhāraṃ kṛtya || rājā śrī indradeva varṣa 12 || rājā śrī mānadeva varṣa 4 māsa 7 || rājā śrī narendradeva varṣa 6 māsa 4 māgha kṛṣṇa ca[n]dramā pratipad saptādvi[5]ke kāle varṣa–śatadvaye śubhadine rājyaṃ varaṃ prāpyate | nepāla samasta–maṇḍala mahītrāta prajā–nāśanaṃ | pīḍyaṃ śāstra dāsurami × × × śrī naṃdadeva prabhu tena hi bhaktagrāme śivagalaṭola × × × × ya kṛta devadvaya pratiṣṭhitaṃ | tripura–sahitā rāja(*p. 7*)[dhānī pra][6] tiṣṭhita rājakula khanīyaṃ suvarṇṇapanālī kṛtā śrī ne[pāla–ma][7] hāmaṇḍalaka mahāpātra mukha samasta prabhānāṃ[8] putrapautrādi × × taḥ saṃtapa–duḥkhāgni prapīḍate hṛdayānācadhavana prava × × × ropakṛtānāṃ caurakaṃ vānahṛtya mahāstena kṛte śukradi[ne

[1] I transcribe with a semicolon a sign which the scribe of the ms. writes as the number 10; he must have misunderstood some sign or mark in the original from which be copied.

[2] Read *suvarṇa*.

[3] See n. 1.

[4] Read *śi–*.

[5] Read *–dhi–*.

[6] Reconstructed according to V[1].

[7] Reconstructed according to V[1].

[8] Read *prajānāṃ*.

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nā]ṭi ka sudhanapāla kṛtavān || rājā śrī nandadeva varṣa 20 || samvat 267 pauṣa-kṛṣṇa-trayodaśyāṃ śukradine śrī rudradeva puṣyābhiṣeka kṛtavān rājye || puṣyābhiṣekāt tuṣāra vṛṣṭi ca bhavati || (*p. 8*) [rājā śrī rudradeva] [1] varṣa 80 māsa śrī mṛtadeva varṣa 3 māsa 11 || mahā[marī durbhikṣa] [2] bhavati || samvat 299 kārttika-kṛṣṇa-ṣaṣṭi śukravāra || rā[jā śrī] someśvaradeva puṣyābhiṣeka kṛtavān || rājā śrī someśvara va[rṣa 6] [3] māsa 3 || yuvarājā mahendradevena kṛta mahendrasarovara || samva[t × ×] 9 vaiśākha-śukla-pūrṇṇamī rājā śrī gunakāmadeva puṣyābhikhe[ka] kṛtavān || samvat 305 pauṣa śudi 7 aṃgavāsare || rājā śrī vijayakāmadeva varṣa māsa || rājā śrī arimalladeva varṣa 31 mā(*p. 9*)sa 9 || tasya rājye maraka durbhikṣa ca prādu[r]bhūtaḥ daṃmena anna kūtra dvayamabhūta || rājā śrī abhayamalladeva varṣa 48 māsa 2 | māhāmārī anāvṛṣṭi durbhikṣa prajākṣaya bhūmikaṃpa chatrabhaṅga || samvaptā [3]75 āṣāḍha śukla 2 punarvvasu somavāsare || rājā śrī jayade[va va]rṣa 2 māsa 7 || rājā śrī anantamalladeva varṣa 32 māsa 10 śrī [paśupa]ti-bhaṭṭārakasya dhvaja-rohaṇaṃ kṛtaṃ śrī paśupati-bhaṭṭārakā × × × dadet || tasya rājā kurājyaṃ ca vitāpahārī kumaravanaṃ (*p. 10*) × × × × nāśaṃ karoti || || samvat 408 pauṣa-māsa jayatārī pra[viṣṭa pra] [4] thamaṃ || samvat 414 phālguṇa-māsa dvitīyā-vāra pravi[ṣṭa] khaśiyā pravesa || Samvat 411 māgha-māsa tirahutiyā bhagatagrāme praviṣṭa || Samvat 431 māgha-māsa tirahutiyā lalitagrāme praviṣṭaḥ | rāṣṭre atisaṃtāpaḥ daṇḍa pracyate pātra sṛṣṭa-baṃdhanaṃ mahatpīḍā || nepāla juvarājinī viramadevīnām kṛtya someśvara-nīmaṃ deva kṛte puraḥ caṃgu-devālaya kṛtaṃ dhvajā (*p. 11*) rohana ca puna indrakūṭa pratiṣṭitaṃ dhvajārohanaṃ ca jayaśakter-mātā viramadevī [||] tatrāntare rājā jayānandadeva varṣa || anantare jayatuṅgamallasya ātmajaḥ śrī jayarudramalladevasya prabhūtena svakuṭuṃba śrī jayārimalladeva puṣyābhiṣeka kṛtya rā[ja]bhukti-mātraṃ dadau | samasta-nepāla jayarudra iti | navakvaṣṭha × × × ṃ karoti nepāla bhaktagrāme kṣatra vikrīta bakutara jaya × × × sorgastha || || Samvat 446 āṣāḍha pūrṇṇamī dārāḥ same (*p. 12*) × × × × ra jāyamāna katipaya divasāntare mṛtyuḥ || putrī sa[tī nāyaka] [5] devī nāma pitā-

1) Reconstructed according to VD.
2) Reconstructed according to V[1].
3) Reconstructed according to VD.
4) Reconstructed according to V[1].
5) Reconstructed according to V[1].

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mahī śrī padumalladevīnā pratipāli[tā śrī deva][1]ladevī dvayorapi bhaktagrāme rājyaṃ kṛtavān maṇḍapā bhūmīkaṃ saṃkṛtya tilamādhavasthāne [|] tatrānte ādityamalla nepādi praviṣṭa || samvat 448 cai. śu. 15 utraphālgunī śukladine lalitagrāme daṇḍeva bhavati || tatrāntare kāśīśvara somavaṃśa hariścandradeva samāgamana yena vivāhaṃ karoti śrī nāyakadevī[|] katipaya (*p. 13*) varṣāntare śiṣṭena viṣa–bhakṣaṇena mṛtyuḥ [|] katipaya pātra spaṣṭa mānayati || atrāntare karṇṇaṭava[ṃ]śija śrī jatasiṃhadeva samāhita saṃgṛhya putrī śrī rājaladevī nāma [|] daśadinānte mātā svargaṃgaka × × × pitāmahyā atikaṣṭena pratipālitā śrī devaladevī nāma kṛ × × × [pra]tipālitā jivitā ca || athāntale śrī paśu[pa]timallade[va bandhanaṃ ka][2]roti || nepāla samasta sammatena ubhayarājakula [sānumatena] × × × × × 464 śrāvaṇa badi 4 || śrī jayarājadeva rāja (*p. 14*) [kṛtya] sarvasaṃmatena saṃ 467 vaiśākha śudi 7 tasya pitā śrī jayā[nanda] deva mātā lalitagrāme uttaravihāra rājendrapāla–pātrasya putrī | jayarājadevasya patnī karṇṇaṭavaṃśaja śrī rudramalladeva–nāma tasya putra śrī tasminmaya ubhaya–rājakula ekatva || saṃ 468 śrī devaladevīnāṃ kokha kṛtaṃ paśupatir–dadātu || Samvat 469 śrī jayarājadevena kokha kṛtaṃ śrī paśupati dadātu || tadantare pūrvvā–śūtānāgataḥ || atha vaṃśāvali likhyate || ||

(*p. 15*) nandenduśūnyaśaśi 1019 samvat śakavarṣa tacchrāvaṇasya dhavale muni–tithyadhastāt | svātyāṃ śanaiścaradine ripumardalagne śrī nānyadeva nṛpatir vidadhīta rājyaṃ || sraṣṭā nānyapatir–bbabhūva tad–anu śrī gāṅgadevo nṛpas–tatsur–nnarasiṃhadeva nṛpatiḥ | śrī rāmasiṃhas–tataḥ tatsūnūr bhavasiṃhadeva uditaḥ śrī karmasiṃhas–tatas–tatsunu [ha]rasiṃhadeva nṛpatiḥ karṇṇāṭa–cūḍāmaṇiḥ || bāṇābdhiyu[gmaśa]śi 1205 (*sic!*) samvat śākavarṣe pauṣasya śukla navamī ra[visūnuvāre...].

1) Reconstructed according to V[1].
2) Reconstructed according to V[1].

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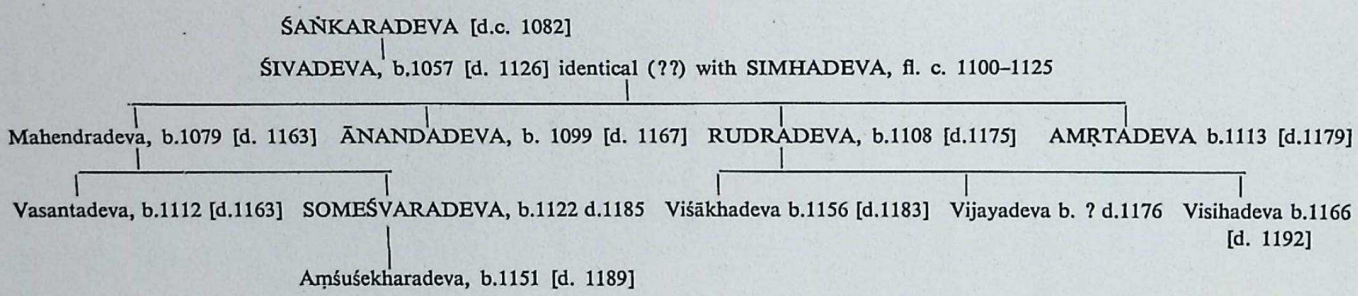
GENEALOGICAL TABLE A [1]



[1] The elements of the Genealogical Tables are drawn from V². Dates between brackets are not found in the text, but calculated from the years of life attributed by V² to each person. The name of the persons who reigned are printed in CAPITALS.

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE B

I.

Jayaśimalla
|
1) ARIMALLA, b. 1153 [d. 1216]
|
2) ABHAYAMALLA, b.1183 [d. 1255]
|
3) JAYADEVA, b.1203 [d. 1258]
|
Yakṣamalla, b.1238 [d.1257] | Jatakeśadeva, b.1244 d. ?

II. (*Bhonta family*)

4) JAYABHĪMADEVA, [b.? d.1271]
|
Jayādityadeva, b. 1238 d.1293
|
Jayaśaktideva, b.1276 [d.1315]

7) JAYĀNANDADEVA, b.? d. after 1328
|
9) JAYARĀJADEVA, b. 1317 [d.1360]
|
10) JAYĀRJUNADEVA, b. 1338 d.1382

III.

Aganakamalla [1]
|
Rājadeva, b.1228 [d.1249]
|
6) ANANTAMALLA, b.1246 [d.1308]
|
8) JAYĀRIMALLA, b.1276 d.1344

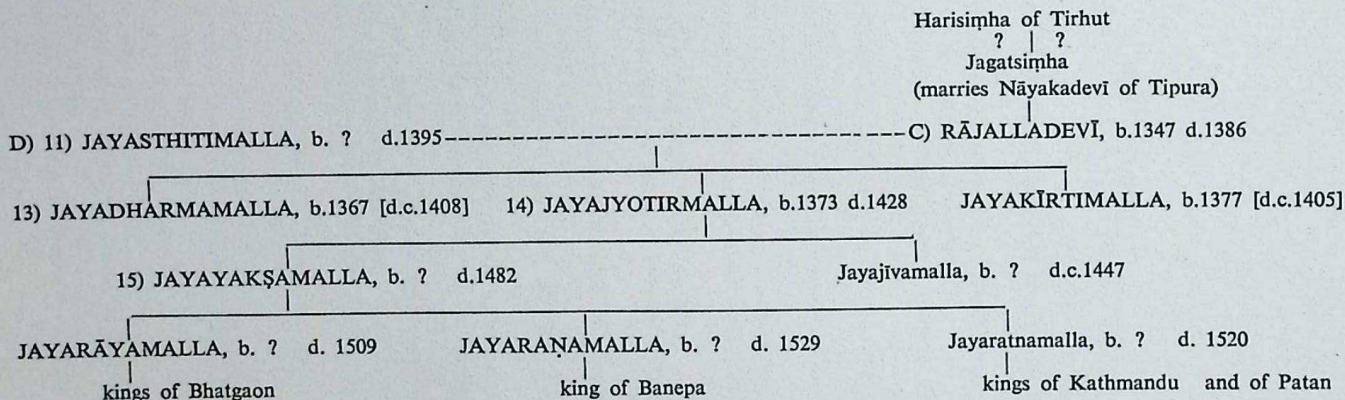
IV. (Tipura family)

Jagatanekamalla [1]
|
5) JAYAŚIHAMALLA, b.1229 d.1287
|
Jayatuṅgamalla, b.1265 d.1312
(princes | of Bhatgaon)
A) JAYARUDRAMALLA, b.1295 d.1326
|
B) NĀYAKADEVĪ, b.? d. 1347
united with Jagatsiṃha of the Karṇāṭa family

1) Aganakamalla and Jagatanekamalla could be perhaps one and the same person.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE C

The Karṇāṭa–Malla dynasty



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